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PROVERBS OF THE PAINTER

BY C. SIVARAMAMURTHY, B.A. (HONS.)

PROVERBS, sayings and maxims number profusely in the literature of any land on the globe for the very simple reason that the inherent natural tendency of man has been to utter short witty epigrammatical phrases. Sanskrit has yielded in India a crop of popular maxims so rich and resourceful, so witty and thought-provoking, that they demand, nay, compel the attention of savants of Sanskrit learning towards them as their legitimate due. Sanskrit literature, especially the Śāstraic part of it, abounds in this variety of expression. Attempts at a codification of these scattered over numerous pages of different books have resulted in such works as the *Laukikanyāya-saṁgraha* of Raghunātha Varma Udāsīna and the *Laukika-nyāyāñjali* of Colonel Jacob, both individual works on the subject differing from the shorter compilations found in dictionaries like the *Vācaspatyam*.

There are, among these, maxims which deal with various aspects and activities of the world at large, being drawn freely from popular anecdotes, beliefs, customs and habits, many

that deal specially with, and are based on, the activity of the Śilpin, *i.e.*, artist, citrakāra or rūpakāra. Though some of these have been incorporated in the books above mentioned, they have lost their individuality in a big mass of numerous other maxims dealing with entirely different subjects, and some more of their class that I came across during the course of my study, invite me to put them all together as popular notions on a particular art; and that explains this short note.

1. **आलेख्यप्रदीपन्यायः**

This is to illustrate the incapacitated state of a thing which is for all practical purposes the same as a representation of it in a picture void of its characteristics and actions. The figure of a lamp in a picture lacks the flicker of the flame as well as its lustre. It is merely stolid. Pravarasena gives it in his verse in the *Setubandha :*

अथ कपीनां जडीभावमाह—

ते ताण हअणच्छाअं णिच्चललोअणसिहं पउत्थपआवम् ।
आलेक्खपईवाण वणिअअं पइइचडुलत्तणं पि विअलिअम् ॥ (II. 45.)
[ततस्तेषां हतच्छायं निश्चललोचनशिखं प्रोषितप्रतापम् ।
आलेख्यप्रदीपानामिव निजकं प्रकृतिचटुलत्वमपि विगलितम् ॥]

Kālidāsa has a verse to the same effect in the *Raghuvaṁśa :*

अरिष्टशय्यां परितो विसारिणा सुजन्मनस्तस्य निजेन तेजसा ।
निशीथदीपाः सहसा हतत्विषो बभूवुरालेख्यसमर्पिता इव ॥ (III. 15.)

Aśvaghoṣa has a line on this in his *Saundarananda :*

यस्योद्भवे न धृतिरस्ति न शान्तिरस्ति
चित्रप्रदीप इव सोऽस्ति न चास्ति चैव ॥ (VII. 48.)

2. **आलेख्ययक्षन्यायः**

A thing that has mere beauty of form but no practical utility is explained by this maxim. The Yakṣa in a picture is quite beautiful but does not serve the purpose of a real Yakṣa. The *Pādataḍitaka* gives it in this verse

सो गुग्गुलुं पिबति मेदसि संप्रवृद्धे तस्य क्षयं व्रजति चण्ड्यचिरेण मेदः ।
स्त्रीणां भवत्यथ स यौवनशालिनीनामालेख्ययक्ष इव दर्शनमात्ररम्यः ॥

3. आलेख्यशाखिफलन्यायः

This is to explain the futility of a thing. A certain action is as impossible of accomplishment as the enjoyment of the fruit of a tree painted on a canvas. We have it in the verse in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa :

उत्सवे दैन्यविज्ञप्तौ रञ्जने कार्यसाधने ।
आलेख्यलीनशाखीव न स लभ्यफलोऽभवत् ॥

(Vol. II, Taraṅga VIII, 69.)

4. उन्मीलितचित्रन्यायः

This is to show the revivification of a thing, the infusing of life into it, which appeared so far inert and dead for all practical purposes. The illustration given is the painter giving the final touches to the figure in a picture which had lain practically lifeless all the while and making it alive and full of life. Kālidāsa mentions it in the verse of the *Kumārasambhava :*

उन्मीलितं तूलिकयेव चित्रं सूर्यांशुभिर्भिन्नमिवारविन्दम् ।
बभूव तस्याश्चतुरस्रशोभि वपुर्विभक्तं नवयौवनेन ॥ (I. 32.)

Bāṇa conveys the same idea in the line in his *Kādambarī :*

प्रातश्च तदुन्मीलितं चित्रमिव चन्द्रापीडशरीरमवलोकय । (p. 548.)

and Mayūra graphically describes it in a verse of his *Sūrya-śataka :*

ज्योत्स्नांशाकर्षपाण्डुद्युतितिमिरमषीशेषकल्माषमीष-
जृम्भोद्भूतेन पिङ्गं सरसिजरजसा संध्यया शोणशोचिः ।
प्रातः प्रारम्भकाले सकलमपि जगच्चित्रमुन्मीलयन्ती
कान्तिस्तीक्ष्णत्विषोऽक्ष्णां मुदमुपनयतात्तूलिकेवातुलां वः ॥ (26.)

(Com. उन्मीलयन्ती प्रकटयन्ती.)

The idea is also suggested in the verse of Haricandra's *Dharmaśarmābhyudaya* :

अहो समुन्मीलति धातुरेषा शिल्पक्रियायाः परिणामरेखा ।
जगद्द्वयं मन्मथवैजयन्त्या यया जयत्येष मनुष्यलोकः ॥ (XVII. 18.)

and in that of the *Neminirvāṇa* of Vāgbhaṭa :

रेजे दलच्चम्पकचारुभासां यत्राङ्गनानां तनुरोमराजिः ।
शलाकयोन्मीलयतो विधातुर्मुखाच्च्युतेवाञ्जनवारिरेखा ॥ (I. 49.)

We have it also in the verse of the *Rāmacaṛita* of Abhinanda:

कैः शिक्षिता वर्तयितुं तदासीदुन्मीलितं तूलिकयेव चित्रम् ।
तरङ्गवत्तुङ्गशरद्घनालीविसंस्थुले व्योमनि बालसन्ध्या ॥ (I. 73.)

wherein two special features in painting, Unmilana and Vartana, are specifically stated. But the most explanatory reference is in the verse of the *Haravijaya* of Rājānaka Ratnākara:

यस्याभियाति भवनेष्वसमाप्तचित्र-
संभारभित्तिपुरुषा मलिनीभवन्तः ।
उन्मीलनावसरशून्यदृशः समिद्धां
दध्युर्दिवानिशमिव श्रियमव्यवस्थाम् ॥ (XVI. 65.)

The commentary on it by Rājānaka Alaka explains the term lucidly in the line यस्यारिवेश्मस्त्वर्धसम्पन्नाश्चित्रपुरुषा दृष्ट्युन्मीलनाभावादस्थिरां लक्ष्मीमचिन्तयन्.

Introducing many points of citra in a verse, Ratnākara again speaks of citronmilana in the verse:

सभूमिलाभं शुभवर्तिरेखया मनोरमं मण्डलकार्यमस्खलत् ।
अशेषमुन्मीलयति क्षमाभृतां विचित्ररूपा ननु नीतितूलिका ॥ (XII. 30.)

Mr. K. A. Subrahmanya Aiyer gives a quotation from the *Mahārthamañjari* where Maheśvarānanda uses this Nyāya in describing Sadāśiva and Īśvara*:

अहन्तेदन्तालक्षणयोर्ज्ञानक्रिययोराद्योद्रेकात् उन्मीलितचित्रन्यायेन व्यक्ताव्यक्तविश्वमातृतास्वभावं सदाशिवाख्यं तत्त्वम् । एतद्विपर्ययेण क्रियाशक्त्यौज्ज्वल्ये व्यक्ताकारविश्वानुसंधातृरूपम् ईश्वरतत्त्वमिति । (p. 44.)

Though he supposes the उन्मीलित picture as such to be व्यक्ताव्यक्त, it is difficult to see how it could be so, since Kālidasa appears to leave us no room for the supposition in his verse by the use of such phrases as सूर्यांशुभिर्भिन्नमिवारविन्दम् and वपुर्विभक्तम्; further we have the traditional custom of கண் திறப்பது (opening of the eyes) of the image as the last work of the painter and the image-maker, which done, the picture or

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* *Vide J. O. R. M.*, Vol. VI, Part IV, p. 345.

image looks finished. But the citing of the उन्मीलितचित्रन्याय for explaining the व्यक्ताव्यक्त state of Sadāśivatattva made me wonder. It may be, I thought, that the Sadāśivatattva is not so pronounced or marked as the Īśvaratattva for want of क्रियाशक्त्यौज्ज्वल्य; but its being व्यक्ताव्यक्त according to the उन्मीलिताचित्रन्याय puzzled me. And my professor Mahāmahopādhyāya S. Kuppuswami Sastriar has enlightened me by suggesting an excellent solution to get over this difficulty of explanation which apart from solving the problem, reveals the marvellous genius of Kālidāsa who uses the right word in the right place most significantly. The word used is not चित्रोन्मीलन but उन्मीलिताचित्र. The निष्ठाप्रत्यय is very significant here. According to the sūtra of Pāṇini आदिकर्मणि क्तः कर्तरि च (3-4-71) we have the क्तप्रत्यय used in the active, passive and impersonal senses when denoting just the very first moment after an act is completed. Taking this into account if we see the उन्मीलितचित्र it is व्यक्त 'finished and manifest' in the sense that the artist has done his work—given his last brush-stroke and at the same time अव्यक्त 'unfinished or unmanifest' in the sense that it is आद्यक्षणावच्छिन्न and incapable of creating an impression of 'finish' in the spectator's mind, lacking the required minimum of interval to produce an impression, being akin to the Naiyāyika's उत्पन्नघट which is characterised as क्षणमगुणं तिष्ठति. The use of the Niṣṭhā क्त throughout in Kālidāsa's verse in the passive sense उन्मीलितम्, भिन्नम् and विभक्तम् as also the use of नव in opposition to यौवन is telling. It is not यौवन of some duration that is spoken of but the आदिक्षण of यौवनारम्भ the newly dawned youth, नवयौवन. It is just in this sense that the first moment of the उन्मीलितचित्र is to be understood as व्यक्ताव्यक्त. Otherwise all उन्मीलितचित्रs are from the next moment onwards fully completed and full of life.

5. **कुड्यं विना चित्रकर्मन्यायः**

This is to illustrate the absurdity of a thing and the example given is the painter trying to paint a picture

without a proper ground—wall, canvas, etc. We have it stated in the lamentation of Rākṣasa in the *Mudrārākṣasa :*

वृष्णीनामिव नीतिविक्रमगुणव्यापारशान्तद्विषां
नन्दानां विपुले कुलेऽकरुणया नीते नियत्या क्षयम् ।
चिन्तावेशसमाकुलेन मनसा रात्रिंदिवं जाग्रतः
सैवेयं मम चित्रकर्मरचना भित्तिं विना वर्तते ॥ (Act II, śl. 3.)

Kalhaṇa gives it in the following verses of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī :*

अभित्तिलिखितालेख्यकल्पं बलहरस्य तत् ।
तादृग्विलोक्य सामर्थ्यमथ राज्ञश्च सर्वतः ॥ (Vol. II, VIII, 2794.)
अपि त्वया निजं तेजो भित्तिभूतं न हारितम् ।
तस्मिन् हि सति सिद्ध्यन्ति सहसा लेख्यकल्पनाः ॥ (IV. 565.)

The *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* of Bilhaṇa has a verse with this import :

पयोद यासां भवतोऽपि दर्शनान्न वल्लभः संघटते मृगीदृशाम् ।
न ताः क्रियन्ते गणनासु दुर्भगाः करोति कश्चित्रमजातभित्तिषु ॥ (XIII. 74.)

This very idea is repeated in the verse of Hariharopādhyāya's *Bhartṛharinirveda :*

चित्रं चित्रमरङ्गवर्तिकमिदं निर्भित्तिकं शिल्पिनः
संकल्पस्य विकल्पनैर्विरचितं चिद्व्योमपट्टे जगत् ।
दीर्घस्वप्नमिदं वदन्ति सुधियः केऽपीन्द्रजालं पुनः
प्रोचुः केचिदथान्तरिक्षनगरीमेवापरे मेनिरे ॥ (Act V, 29.)

The line of Hemacandra further vivifies the ludicrousness of painting in the air :

भित्तौ हि चित्ररचना चतुरस्यापि जृम्भते । (*Sthavirāvalīcarita*, II, 483.)

Even the cleverest painter cannot paint in the air; he requires a ground for working on it.

This idea is given by Kṣemendra in a verse of his *Avadānakalpalatā :*

लोके यदालोकनलाभलोभात् संरक्ष्यते चक्षुरिति प्रयत्नात् ।
रूपं तदेतत्तरलेन्द्रजालस्वप्नावलीमित्रमभित्तिचित्रम् ॥
(Chap. LIX, 97, Vol. II, p. 213.)

There is a verse in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* to the same purpose :

तच्छ्रुत्वा तत्र तेऽभूवन् वणिजोऽन्ये सविस्मयाः ।
धीर्न चित्रीयते कस्मादभित्तौ चित्रकर्मणा ॥ (Lambaka I, Taraṅga VI, 50.)

Colonel Jacob gives the following examples under this nyāya (see p. 22, Part II and p. 131, Part III of लौकिकन्यायाञ्जलि)—

“ प्रसङ्गसाधनं नाम नास्त्येव परमार्थतः ।

तद्धि कुड्यं विना तत्र चित्रकर्मैव लक्ष्यते ॥ (*Nyāyamañjarī*, p. 103.)

चित्रं स्यादाश्रयमृते स्थाण्वादिभ्यो विना यथा छाया ।

तद्वद्विना विशेषैर्न तिष्ठति निराश्रयं लिङ्गम् ॥ (*Sāṅkhyakārikā*, 41.)

यद्यात्मना विना देहेऽहमिति प्रत्ययस्तदा मृतदेहेऽहमिति प्रत्ययः स्यात् । न चैवम् । यथाऽऽलोकेन विना न छाया, भित्तिं विना न चित्रं तथात्रापि ॥

(Aniruddha's comment on *Sāṅkhyasūtra*, III, 12.)

सति कुड्ये चित्रकर्म and अभित्तिकचित्रकर्मवन्निराश्रयधर्मविधानायोगात् ।

(Mallinātha on *Tārkikarakṣā*, pp. 111 and 176.)

बलभद्राभिधानमाभित्तिचित्रायितम् ।

[Com. on *Nyāyasiddhāntadīpa*, p. 30, line 7 (Pandit for July 1903)]

Vernacular proverbs of the same like గోడవుంటే చిత్రము వ్రాయవచ్చును (ఆంధ్రలోకోక్తిచంద్రిక, 1007) are based on this. It is a very common household proverb and occurs very often in general conversation. Being uppermost in the minds of people it serves very often the purpose of exemplification. It is thus that we find it used by Sāyaṇācārya in his introduction to *Kṛṣṇayajurveda Taittirīya Saṁhitā* wherein importance is given to the Yajurveda which is compared to the bhitti while the Sāmaveda and the Ṛgveda are declared to be of secondary importance like the citra.

ऋग्वेदसामवेदयोरादौ दर्शपूर्णमासेष्टेरनाम्नातेति चेद्बाढम् । यजुर्वेदमपेक्ष्य दर्शपूर्णमासयोरादित्वमुक्तं, कर्मकाण्डविषये यजुर्वेदस्यैव प्राधान्यात् । आनुपूर्व्यात्कर्मणां स्वरूपं यजुर्वेदे समाम्नातम् । तत्र तत्र विशेषापेक्षायामपेक्षिता याज्यानुवाक्यादय ऋग्वेदे समाम्नायन्ते । स्तोत्रादीनि तु सामवेदे । तथा सति भित्तिस्थानीयो यजुर्वेदश्चित्रस्थानीयावितरौ । तस्मात्कर्मसु यजुर्वेदस्यैव प्राधान्यम् । तस्मिंश्च दर्शपूर्णमासेष्टिरादौ समाम्नाता । यद्यपि मन्त्रब्राह्मणात्मको वेदस्तथापि ब्राह्मणस्य मन्त्रव्याख्यानरूपत्वान्मन्त्रा एवादौ समाम्नाताः । ते च त्रिविधाः, ऋचः सामानि यजूंषि चेति । तत्र यजुषामध्वर्युवेदे बहुलत्वात्क्वचिदृचां सद्भावेपि यजुर्वेद इत्येवाख्यायते । अध्वर्युवेदत्वं चास्यानादिसिद्धयाज्ञिकसमाख्ययाऽवगन्तव्यम् । अस्मिन्वेदे समाम्नाताः दर्शपूर्णमासेष्टिमन्त्रास्त्रिविधा आध्वर्यवा याजमाना हौत्राश्चेति । “ इषे त्वा ” इत्यादौ प्रपाठके पठिता

आध्वर्यवाः । "सं त्वा सिञ्चामि" इत्यादौ पठिता याजमानाः । "सत्यं प्रपद्ये" इत्यादौ पठिता हौत्राः । एतेषां मध्ये याजमानानां हौत्राणां च चित्रस्थानीयत्वाद्भित्तिस्थानीयानामिवाध्वर्यवाणामादौ पाठो युक्तः ॥

The very popular nature of this saying easily accounts for the numerous references to it in literature.

6. चित्रकरतूलिकान्यायः

This is to illustrate the wide scope and the large field that a thing covers. For a Bhrānta, a lover and people of that sort images of the person or thing they dread or love appear everywhere on all sides. There is no restriction. This is likened to the unrestricted scope of the artist's brush that plies fresh on every wall. Govardhanācārya has an Āryā on this in his *Āryāsaptaśatī :*

नानावर्णकरूपं प्रकल्पयन्ती मनोहरं तन्वी ।
चित्रकरतूलिकेव त्वां सा प्रतिभित्ति भावयति ॥ (345)

7. चित्रकुसुमन्यायः

This is to illustrate the useless nature of a thing. A flower in a picture is void of fragrance and is useless for all practical purposes. Bāṇa mentions this in his *Harṣacarita :*

दर्शनीयस्याप्यालेख्यकुसुमस्येव निष्फलजन्मनः (p. 23)

8. चित्रतुरगन्यायः

This is to show that an idea of the thing is suggested to us by a look at its form in a picture.

नाप्ययमेव राम इति, न चाप्ययं न सुखीति, नापि रामः स्याद्वा न वायमिति, न चापि तत्सदृश इति । किंतु सम्यङ्मिथ्यासंशयसादृश्यप्रतीतिभ्यो विलक्षणा चित्रतुरगादिन्यायेन यः सुखी रामः, असावयमिति प्रतीतिरस्तीति ।

(Com. on *Nāṭyaśāstra* by Abhinavagupta, Vol. I, Gaek. O. S., p. 275.)

राम एवायमयमेव राम इति, न रामोऽयमित्यौत्तरकालिके बाधे रामोऽयमिति, रामः स्याद्वा न वायमिति, रामसदृशोऽयमिति च सम्यङ्मिथ्यासंशयसादृश्यप्रतीतिभ्यो विलक्षणया चित्रतुरगादिन्यायेन रामोयमिति प्रतिपत्त्या ग्राह्ये नटे, etc.

(*Kāvyaprakāśa,* Ānandāśrama Series, IV, p. 93.)

9. चित्रधनुर्न्यायः

This is to illustrate the useless nature of any object and the example given is the picture of a bow that can never

serve the purpose of a bowman. Bāṇa gives it in the line of the *Harṣacarita* :

चित्रधनुष इवालोकगुणाध्यारोपणैकक्रियानित्यनम्रस्य निर्वाणतेजसः । p. 223.

10. चित्रपटन्यायः

This nyāya is introduced by the Advaita Vedāntins to explain the oneness of Paramātman, the Supreme Brahman, and the apparently different world around teeming with differences of various types. Just as different figures in a picture like the king, the noblemen, peasants, animals, trees, etc., though viewed and understood as high and low,—animate and inanimate, only in a conventional sense, they being after all mere patches of colour, the green or brown of a tree being in no way different from the green and brown of a parrot or a lion, and all of them being absolutely one with the canvas—so also the different beings and things that display an apparent difference and individuality in this world can in no way be divorced from the Brahman in whom they 'live and move and have their being' being part and parcel of Him. The great Vidyāraṇya has a separate chapter in his *Pañcadaśī* called "Citradīpaprakaraṇa" to discuss this question. The illustration of the Citrapaṭa is explained in many verses of this chapter of which the following are important for our purpose :

आविर्भावयति स्वस्मिन् विलीनं सकलं जगत् ।
प्राणिकर्मवशादेष पटो यद्वत्प्रसारितः ॥ 83
पुनस्तिरोभावयति स्वात्मन्येवाखिलं जगत् ।
प्राणिकर्मक्षयवशात् संकोचितपटो यथा ॥ 84
सर्वतो लाञ्छितो मष्या यथास्याद्धट्टितः पटः ।
सूक्ष्माकारैस्तथेशस्य वपुः सर्वत्र लाञ्छितम् ॥ 2
जगच्चित्रं स्वचैतन्ये पटे चित्रमिवार्पितम् ।
मायया तदुपेक्ष्यैव चैतन्यं परिशेष्यताम् ॥ 89

Apart from establishing the oneness of the Prapañca and the Paramātman the verses, while going to explain Upaniṣadic sayings like यतो वा इमानि भूतानि जायन्ते, येन जातानि जीवन्ति, यत्प्रयन्त्यभिसंविशन्ति, etc., give out the habits of the time—of rolling and

unrolling canvases, of marking or sketching out pictures on the prepared canvas, etc., thus inviting us to have a peep into the past, to see our artist-forefathers at work or engaged in exhibition or striving away their work.

The *Laukikanyāyasaṁgraha* has this short and lucid explanation of the maxim:

कथंचिदपि नानात्वानुभावे कथमद्वैतबोध इत्याकाङ्क्षायां चित्रपटन्यायावतारः । यथा पटे स्थितानां चित्राणां न पटातिरेकेण सत्ताऽस्ति, तथा न ब्रह्मातिरेकेण द्वैतसत्ताऽस्ति । तथा च चित्रनानात्वज्ञानेन पटैकत्वानुभवाप्रतिबन्धवत् तत्त्वविदो न प्रपञ्चनानात्वधिया ब्रह्माद्वैतधीप्रतिबन्धः ।

11. **चित्रभित्तिन्यायः**

This is to show the all-embracing capacity of a thing. The picture theme on the wall is wide enough to cover the subjects of all the three worlds—past, present and future. Bāṇa suggests it in his *Kādambarī* in the line दर्शितविश्वरूपैव चित्रभित्तिभिः (p. 103). Śrī Harṣa also gives out this broad scope for the painter's brush on the wall in his line in the *Naiṣadha:*

भित्तिचित्रलिखिताखिलक्रमा यत्र तस्थुरितिहाससंकथाः । (XVII.)

Daṇḍin has a line to the same effect in his *Avantisundarīkathā:*

येषां जगत्त्रयालेख्यावीचित्राश्चित्रभित्तयः ॥ (p. 1, śl. 5.)

12. " **चित्रस्थेष्वपि साशङ्का नोपहास्या जिगीषवः** "

This is a line from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (VIII. 853) illustrating the force of कैमुतिकन्याय. Even the pictures cannot brook an insult; how much more does the inability come with full force in the case of living and moving beings like us. The purport of it is that one should not laugh at people who suspect even pictures. This mode of bringing in pictures to say 'even the pictures' is found illustrated in many books of which the *Kāvyaprakāśa* has a beautiful verse:

हा मातस्त्वरिताऽसि कुत्र किमिदं हा देवताः क्वाशिषो
धिक् प्राणान्पतितोऽशनिर्हुतवहस्तेऽङ्गेषु दग्धे दृशौ ।
इत्थं घर्घरमध्यरुद्धकरुणाः पौराङ्गनानां गिर-
श्चित्रस्थानपि रोदयन्ति शतधा कुर्वन्ति भित्तीरपि ॥ (IV. śl. 39.)

13. **चित्राङ्गनान्यायः**

This is to illustrate the pointless nature of a thing. A woman in a picture is merely a picture and cannot be counted as a living woman for any purpose. Bāṇa explains this in the line of his *Kādambarī :*

आलेख्यगतामिव दर्शनमात्रफलाम् (p. 23.)

The same is given as Bhittiputtalaka meaning almost the same (though here a man is meant and not a woman) by Śātavāhana in his *Gāthāsaptaśatī :*

नायकस्य दृढसौहृदमिच्छन्ती नायिका दूतीं सदृष्टान्तमाह—
तं मित्तं काअव्वं जं किर वसणम्मि देसआलम्मि ।
आलिहिअभित्तिवउल्लअं व ण परम्मुहं ठाइ ॥ (III. 17.)
[तन्मित्रं कर्तव्यं यत्किल व्यसने देशकालेषु ।
आलिखितभित्तिपुत्तलकमिव न पराङ्मुखं तिष्ठति ॥]
(Com. वउल्लअं पुत्तलिकेति देशी ।)

Kṣemendra gives the idea in the verse of his *Avadāna-kalpalatā :*

प्रभावगुणहीनस्य पुंसश्चारुतराकृतेः ।
आलेख्यपुरुषस्येव सौन्दर्यं भित्तिरञ्जनम् ॥
(Vol. II, p. 403, Chap. LXIV, śl. 303.)

The *Laukikanyāyasaṁgraha* has this explanation of the maxim: यथा चित्राङ्गना दृश्यमानाऽपि न चुम्बनालिङ्गनादि फलं जनयितुं शक्नोति तथा प्रकृतेऽप्रीत्यर्थः. Colonel Jacob gives an additional quotation of Raghunātha which, he presumes, is from the *Yogavāśiṣṭha :*

चित्रामृतं नामृतमेव विद्धि चित्रानलं नानलमेव विद्धि ।
चित्राङ्गना नूनमनङ्गनेति वाचा विवेकस्त्वविवेक एव ॥

14. **चित्रामृतन्यायः**

This is to illustrate the absence of utility in a particular thing. The example furnished is the picture of ambrosia which can never be tasted and enjoyed. Raghunātha enumerates it in his list of nyāyas and asks us to understand it on the basis of Citrāṅganānyāya.

There is a verse in the *Gāthāsaptaśatī* in which the picture of the sweatmeat is given as the example which conveys the same lesson :

पूर्वनायिकां विहाय गुणान्तरलोभेन नायिकान्तरगामिनं नायकं काप्यन्यापदेशेनाह—

कमलं मुअन्त महुअर पिक्ककइत्थाण गन्धलोहेण ।
आलिक्खलड्डुअं पामरो व्व छिविऊण जाणिहिसि ॥ (VII. 41.)
[कमलं मुञ्चन्मधुकर पक्ककपित्थानां गन्धलोभेन ।
आलेख्यलड्डुकं पामर इव स्पृष्ट्वा ज्ञास्यसि ॥]

15. **चित्रानलन्यायः**

This is explained in the verse quoted from Jacob's quotation from Raghunātha under Citrāṅganānyāya (13).

16. **चित्रालानन्यायः**

This is similar to the previous ones in its import. The pole or stake to which an elephant is tied can serve no real purpose when it is only a depiction in a picture· Raghunātha enumerates it amongst his list of nyāyas.

17. **तृणसिंहन्यायः**

This is to explain the absolutely futile nature of a thing. The example given is a model of lion made of grass. The *Sanatsujātīya* has a verse giving this example :

अमन्यमानः क्षत्रिय कश्चिदन्यं
नाधीयते तार्ण इवास्य व्याघ्रः ।
क्रोधाल्लोभान्मोहभयान्तरात्मा
स वै मृत्युस्त्वच्छरीरे य एषः ॥ 15

And Bhagavatpāda Śrī Śaṅkarācārya adds this comment to it : तस्य अस्य विषयविषान्धस्य षडङ्गवेदविदुषोऽपि देहस्तृणनिर्मितो व्याघ्र इव निरर्थको भवति ।

Under the sūtra of Pāṇini गोबिडालसिंहसैन्धवेषूपमाने (6-2-72) the Kāśikā gives this note in which we get a mention of the तृणसिंहः :

गवादिषूपमानवाचिषूत्तरपदेषु पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति । धान्यगवः । हिरण्यगवः । भिक्षाबिडालः । तृणसिंहः । काष्ठसिंहः ।

In the third prastāva of the *Upamitiprapañcakathā*, Siddharṣi uses a similar idea when he writes अनेन सहितः

पुरुषोऽकिंचित्करतया तृणपुरुषान्न विशिष्यते (p. 203). (All these refer to dolls of men and beasts made of grass.)

18. **पुराणचित्रन्यायः (धूमश्यामपुराणचित्रन्यायः also)**

This is to show the dimmed, spoilt and utterly negligible or ephemeral nature of a thing. The example given is the old picture dimmed by smoke and void of its lustre. Rājaśekhara gives it in his verse in the *Viddhasālabhañjikā :*

निर्यद्द्रासरजीवपिण्डकरुणं बिभ्रत्कवोष्णैः करै-
र्माञ्जिष्ठं रविबिम्बमम्बरतलादस्ताचलं चुम्बति ।
किञ्च स्तोकतमःकलापकलनाश्यामायमानं मनाग्-
धूमश्यामपुराणचित्ररचनारूपं जगज्जायते ॥ (Act II, 22.)

Govardhanācārya has an Āryā on this in his *Saptaśatī :*

श्यामा विलोचनहरी बालेयं मनसि हन्त सज्जन्ती ।
लुम्पति पूर्वकलत्रं धूमलता भित्तिचित्रमिव ॥ 57

Kumāradāsa gives it in a verse of his *Jānakīharaṇa :*

यथा न कज्जलस्पर्शचित्रवैवर्ण्यसंभवः ।
तथा ज्वलितुमादिष्टो दीपकृत्यो वृषाकपिः ॥ (II. 59.)

The *Samayamātṛkā* of Kṣemendra uses this idea in a verse:

सा तत्र भोगमित्रस्य प्रीत्या रत्नैरवाकिरत् ।
पुराणचित्ररूपस्य यौवनस्याल्पशेषताम् ॥ (II. 53.)

Padmagupta mentions it in the verse of his *Mārasāhasāṅkacarita :*

स सङ्गतं यन्मृगशाबचक्षुषः
श्रमाप्तनिद्रः स्फुटमन्वभूदिव ।
झटित्यभूजाग्रदवस्थयाऽस्य तत्
पुरातनालेख्यमिवास्फुटं हृदि ॥ (XIII. 2.)

The idea is found again in the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* of Bilhaṇa:

कीर्तिं येषां शतमखसखीमुत्सुकानामवाप्तुं
धूमस्तोमे मखपरिचिते पूरयत्यन्तरिक्षम् ।
नो केषांचिद्वचनमश्नुणोन्नाकरोन्नाकचिन्तां
शक्रश्चित्रार्पित इव परं च्छाययाऽभूद्दरिद्रः ॥ (XVIII. 74.)

The *Kapphaṇābhyudaya* of Bhaṭṭaśivasvāmin echoes the same idea in the verse:

तारासु तारापथभित्तिभागे
तिरो दधत्या वपुषो विशेषात् ।
पुराणचित्राप्रतिमोघमासु
घोत्स्नासुधाकूर्चिकया निपेते ॥ (Can. XII. 13.)

Unfortunately the manuscript of the work is hopelessly corrupt and unintelligible: hence I have tried to reconstruct the verse in the following manner:

ताराश्च तारापथभित्तिभागे
तिरोदधत्या वपुषो विशेषात् ।
पुराणचित्रप्रतिमा निशासु
ज्योत्स्नासुधाकूर्चिकया निपीताः ॥

The effect of smoke on pictures is given in the verse of *Vasantavilāsamahākāvya*:

दन्दह्यमानागुरुधूपधूममालिन्यभीत्येव गवाक्षगर्भैः ।
चित्राणि चित्राश्मयूखमालामिषेण यत्राशु बहिः प्लवन्ते ॥
(II. 27, G. O. S.)

19. **भाण्डालेख्यन्यायः**

This is to show the apparent insignificance of a thing 'the presence or absence of which in no way affects the structure of a thing'. Colonel Jacob gives this as one of the maxims in his *Laukikanyāyāñjali* and quotes an example of its use from the *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya* (p. 289):

भाण्डालेख्यमिवेति ॥ यथालेख्यं रेखोपरेखादि सर्वभाण्डसाधारणं न भाण्ड विशेषलक्षणं तथा पुरुषाधीनविवक्षापि न विशेषिकेत्यर्थः ।

20. **भूमिरथिकन्यायः**

This is to justify the preliminary practice of a student. The example given is the man making drawings of a war chariot on the ground for practice. Colonel Jacob gives it in his list of nyâyas and quotes from *Śābarabhāṣya* to explain it:

यत्तावदुपाध्यायः शिष्यसन्निधावधीते तद्ग्रहणार्थम् । यच्छिष्यस्तद्धारणार्थम् । ग्रहणधारणे प्रयोगार्थे भूमिरथिकवत् शुष्केष्टिवद्वा । तद्यथा भूमिरथिको भूमौ रथमालिख्य शिक्षां करोति संग्रामे प्राशुभावो भवितेति यथा च छात्रः शुष्केष्टीः प्रयुङ्क्ते प्राशुकर्मा भवितास्मीति एवमेतद्द्रष्टव्यम् (on Jaimini, 9-2-13).

21. **मल्लकशतपरिवृतचित्रकरन्यायः**

This is to show that a little of everything is taken from many things. The example given is the painter surrounded by many cups of colour taking a bit from each with his brush for applying on the canvas. Śūdraka gives it in his *Mṛcchakaṭikā :*

यो नामाहं तत्रभवतश्चारुदत्तस्य ऋद्ध्याऽहोरात्रं प्रयत्नसिद्धैरुद्गारसुरभिगन्धिभिर्मोदकैरेवाऽशितोऽभ्यन्तरचतुःशालकद्वार उपविष्टो मल्लकशतपरिवृतश्चित्रकर इवाङ्गुलीभिः स्पृष्ट्वा स्पृष्ट्वाऽपनयामि (Act I.)

The *Cārudatta* of Bhāsa (?) repeats it in the lines:

योऽहं तत्रभवतश्चारुदत्तस्य गेहेऽहोरात्रपर्याप्तसिद्धैर्नानाविधैर्हिङ्गुविद्धैरुद्गारणसुगन्धिभिः भ्रूक्षेपमात्रप्रतीष्टैरन्तरान्तरापनीयैरशनप्रकारैश्चित्रकर इव बहुमल्लकैः परिवृतः आकण्ठमात्रमशित्वा, etc. (Act I.)

22. **मूषासिक्तताम्रन्यायः**

This is to illustrate the shape of one taken by another by completely occupying the space. The example given is the image-maker pouring molten copper into the mould of an image. Colonel Jacob gives many quotations under this maxim. Rāmatīrtha commenting on the verse in the *Upadeśa-sāhasrī* (XIV, 3),

मूषासिक्तं यथा ताम्रं तन्निभं जायते तथा ।
रूपादीन्व्याप्नुवच्चित्तं तन्निभं दृश्यते ध्रुवम् ॥

says, मूषान्तःसुषिरा मृत्प्रतिमा । यथाऽग्निसंपर्काद्द्रवीभूतं ताम्रं मूषायां निषिक्तं निक्षिप्तं सत्तन्निभं जायते तत्समानाकृति भवति तथा चित्तमपि रूपादीन्विषयान्व्याप्नुवत्तन्निभं दृश्यते तदाकारं जायत इत्यर्थः ।

He also quotes a line from the *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya :*

मूषानिषिक्तद्रुतताम्रादिप्रतिमावत् on I-1-12 ;

and from *Taittirīya Vārtika* (p. 94):

विद्यादन्नमयेनैव मूषायां द्रुतताम्रवत् ।
सर्वान्प्राणमयादींस्तान्त्रचितान्पुरुषाकृतीन् ॥

23. **"यद्यत्साधु न चित्रे स्यात् क्रियते तत्तदन्यथा"**

This is the popular belief that even an otherwise ugly thing could be made to appear beautiful or at least better

in a picture. The line is a half of the verse of Kālidāsa in the *Śākuntala :*

यद्यत्साधु न चित्रे स्यात्क्रियते तत्तदन्यथा ।

तथापि तस्या लावण्यं रेखया किञ्चिदन्वितम् ॥

The ordinary meaning of the verse that is usually given in the commentary does not do any credit to the high artistic attainments of Duṣyanta. If यद्यत् साधु न चित्रे स्यात् is taken to mean 'that which is badly drawn—suggesting the incapacity of Duṣyanta in drawing', naturally क्रियते तत्तदन्यथा would mean it is drawn over again after erasing the previous wrong sketch thereby dirtying the paper. In that case तथापि तस्या लावण्यं रेखया किञ्चिदन्वितम् would mean that in spite of tremendous efforts Duṣyanta could scarcely depict a small measure of her beauty transcending all reproduction. This meaning which so underrates the artistic powers of Duṣyanta can very well be discarded when we have the very happy interpretation of it from my professor who splits up the line into यद्यत् साधु न and चित्रे तत्तदन्यथास्यात् क्रियते meaning that whatever is not beautiful can be made different in a picture. The word स्यात् क्रियते is used in the sense of क्रियेत. This new meaning shows that in spite of the fact that art idealises and beautifies even the ugly, Duṣyanta, the great painter, could represent the beauty of Śakuntalā only partially—so lovely is her form.

24. "यादृशश्चित्रकारस्तादृशी चित्रकर्मरूपरेखा"

This is the popular belief of Ancient India. The picture or image takes after its executor. Rājaśekhara mentions it in the *Viddhasālabhañjikā*. The king supposes the picture to be that of a woman drawn by herself.

राजा (विमृश्य)—

अहो वपुःश्रीर्लिखितुर्जनस्य स्वाकारसंवादि यदत्र चित्रम् ।

इदं च पौरन्ध्रमवैमि कर्म रेखानिवेशोऽत्र यदेकधारः ॥ 35

(सम्यग्विलोक्य) तदियं मकरध्वजवैजयन्ती काऽपि स्वयमेव स्वां लिखितवतीति निर्णीयते ।

विदूषकः—एवमेतत् । यतो गरिष्ठजनगोष्ठीष्वपीत्थं किल श्रूयते । यादृशाश्चित्र-करस्तादृशी चित्रकर्मरूपरेखा, यादृशः कविस्तादृशी काव्यबन्धच्छायेति ।

The idea is repeated again in his *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* in the lines :

अपि च नित्यं शुचिः स्यात् । त्रिधा च शौचम्—वाक्शौचम्, मनःशौचम्, कायशौचं च । प्रथमे शास्त्रजन्मनी । तार्तीयिकं तु सनखच्छेदौ पादौ, सताम्बूलं मुखम्, सविलेपनगात्रं वपुः, महार्हमनुल्बणं च वासः, सकुसुमं शिर इति । शुचिशीलनं हि सरस्वत्याः संहननमामनन्ति । स यावत्स्वभावः कविस्तादृशरूपं काव्यम् । यादृशाकारश्चित्रकरस्तादृशाकारमस्य चित्रमिति प्रायोवादः । (*Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, Chap. X.)

There is a quotation in the *Śabdakalpadruma* under the head "Citra":

वृद्धेन च भवेद्वृद्धो व्याधिते व्याधितो भवेत् ।
कुरूपेण कुरूपस्तु मूर्खेण तु न पूज्यते ॥
लेखकस्य तु यद्रूपं चित्रे भवति तादृशम् ॥

confirming this view.

25. रेखागवयन्यायः

This is to show that from the idea of a thing given the thing itself is comprehended. The illustration cited is the sketch or drawing of a gavaya (cow-like animal) given to a villager who on meeting it in a forest understands it by the similarity of form in the picture. Colonel Jacob quotes from Raghunāthavarma to explain it :

"कीदृशो गवय" इति ग्रामीणेन पृष्टो वन्यो लिखित्वा दर्शयामास; स चर्जुबुद्धित्वाद्रेखागवयमेव गवयं मेने । पश्चाद्वने गवयं दृष्ट्वा रेखायां तद्बुद्धिं तत्याजेति लौकिकी गाथा । तथैव पुरुष इत्यादि श्रुतेः पूर्वोक्ततात्पर्यानभिज्ञोऽनात्मानमेवात्मतया जानीते । गुरुशास्त्रोपदेशेनात्मनि ज्ञाते तदात्मबुद्धिमपवदति ।

He also quotes from Vācaspatimiśra's *Tātparyaṭīkā* (p. 457) and the *Vedāntakalpataruparimala* (p. 363), the latter passage being

तात्त्विकारुन्धतीप्रतिपत्त्युपायनतया नानापुरुषैः कल्प्यमानायां तत्प्राच्योदीच्यादि-नक्षत्ररूपायां स्थूलारुन्धत्या यथा वा रेखागवयन्यायेन नित्यशब्दप्रतिपत्त्युपायनतया नानाव्याकरणैः परस्परभिन्नप्रकृतिप्रत्ययविभागेन कृत्रिमशब्द इति भावः ।

and also from Kaiyaṭa on *Mahābhāṣya*, 1-1-46 :

असत्यप्रकृतिप्रत्ययोपदेशेन सत्यस्य पदस्य व्युत्पादनं क्रियते रेखागवयेनेव सत्यगवयस्य ।

26. **व्योम्नि चित्रकल्पनान्यायः**

It is the same as 'kuḍyam vinā citrakarmanyāya'. This is to illustrate an impossibility or a totally non-existent thing like a 'hare's horn'. We get it in the line of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadevabhaṭṭa :

इयं शशविषाणेच्छा व्योम्नि वा चित्रकल्पना ॥

(Lambaka VII, Taraṅga 6, p. 213, śl. 21.)

27. **सद्भित्तिलिखितचित्रन्यायः**

This is to emphasise the proper choice or selection of the recipient of a thing. The example given is the well-prepared wall for painting pictures on it. The rules laid down for preparing the surface of the wall are elaborate for this very purpose. Pictures executed on such prepared surfaces alone are shown off to advantage. Kṣemendra gives it in the verse of his *Samayamātṛkā :*

पात्रं तदुपदेशस्य त्वमेव त्रिदशोचिता ।
सद्भित्तिलिखितं चित्रं चित्रतामेति नेत्रयोः ॥ (IV. 17.)

The verse of Kālidāsa from the *Mālavikāgnimitra :*

पात्रविशेषे न्यस्तं गुणान्तरं व्रजति शिल्पमाधातुः ।
जलमिव समुद्रशुक्तौ मुक्ताफलतां पयोदस्य ॥ (Act I. 6.)

is also to the same purpose. Rājānaka Kuntaka expresses a similar idea in the line :

किञ्च—अनुत्कृष्टधर्मयुक्तस्य वर्णनीयस्यालङ्करणमप्यसमुचितभित्तिभागोल्लिखितालेख्यवन्न शोभातिशयकारितामावहति ।

(*Vakroktijīvita*, Unmeṣa III.)

BĀLACARITAM.

By Prof. K. R. Pisharoti, M.A.

(*Continued from Vol. XXV, No. 4, p. 235*)

Act II.

(*Then enter young Caṇḍāla women*[14])

All.—Come, Lord, come. Get yourself married to us.[15]

(*Then enter King*)

King.—Ho! What's this?

Mansion-tops tumbling down and huge wave-wreaths rising up all around, the earth has quaked like a ferry-boat. This noticeable indication resulting from the *Guṇa* and *Karma* of the great, what does it presage for me, good or bad?[16] (1)

All.—Come, Lord, come. Get yourself married to us.

King.—Because some of the sentinels do not keep the round, because the torch-bearing damsels do not walk around, these fearful Caṇḍāla women, dark like antimony, dark like the blue lotus, have entered my residence.[17] (2)

All.—Come, Lord, come. Get yourself married to us.

King.—Why, alas, are these Caṇḍāla women created?

Me, whose mere anger destroys the enemies, who have under control the sun, the moon and the fire, who am death even to Death and fear even to Fear, even me they tease by insulting words.[18] (3)

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[14] The act takes place during the night following the birth of Kṛṣṇa. In this respect this stands unique, for the number of acts depicting night scenes is so few in Sanskrit. Of these the two famous ones are the cemetery scene in the *Mālatī-Mādhava* and the *Sahaśayana* scene in the *Svapnavāsavadatta*. Notice also that the whole scene takes place in the private chambers of the king. *Vide* note 26 following.

[15] The Caṇḍāla women and their talk, as mentioned later, are apparent only to Kamsa and to none else in the palace. It is more or less a dream and it demands a great skill for successful staging.

[16] The verse gives good scope for the Cākyars to act. Kamsa is anxious to know whether the omens seen have reference to him.

[17] In normal circumstances the carelessness of the torch-bearers and guards would have made him angry, but now he is not, because he is afraid.

[18] The soliloquy of the king tends to show that he feels that the omens presage something bad for him.

All.—Come, Lord, come.

King.—Ah wretches! How now suddenly disappeared![19] Well, I shall now get in.[20]

(*Then enter Curse*)

Curse.—Hem, where enterst thou? This has now become my abode.

King.—Who is this suddenly come standing athwart my bed rooms in complexion dark as a heap of pitch, holding a torch, his jaws set terribly wild, his eyes glaring like those of a serpent, like anger incarnate come to earth from the face of Siva?[21] Who art thou? (4)

Curse.—Know you not me? I am the sage Madhūka's Curse, by name Vajrabāhu.

From amidst the crematorium have I come to enter the heart of King Kamsa, in the ugly and fearful garb of a Caṇḍāla, looking weird with the wreath of skulls. (5)

Kamsa.—Thou seekest the impossible!

The breeze from the wings of the crow does not shake the beautiful golden peaks of Meru. Laughable art thou, who desirest to drink away in palmfuls[22] the ocean lashed by big waves and abounding in sharks. (6)

Curse.—In time shalt thou know.

Kamsa.—Hem, how now suddenly disappeared! Well, I shall now to bed and try to shut my eyes (*Sleep*).[23]

Curse.—Ah, he is asleep. Alakṣmi, Khalati, Kāḷarātri, Mahānidrā, Pingalākṣi,—all, ho! come, let us go inside.

All.—So be it.

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[19] The appearance of the Caṇḍāla women steeped him in fear and their sudden disappearance only enhances it. The advent of the Caṇḍāla women must be so staged as to produce an illusion. *Vide* notes 15 and 25.

[20] This is a significant statement, *vide* notes 23 and 26. The king appears to be dreaming that he was walking out when the Caṇḍālas came and now when he tried to get in—again in the dream—he was confronted by the figure of a Curse.

[21] The king betrays a strain of fear.

[22] The Curse is here compared to one who hopes to empty the ocean by drinking off its waters with his palmfuls.

[23] This carries the illusion further afield.

(*Entering*)

Rājaśri.—Enter not.

Curse.—Who art thou ?

Śri.—Don't you know me ? I am his Lakṣmi.

Curse.—Is it ? O Rājaśri, retire madam. This has now become my home.

Śri.—Hem !

O fool, on whose authority dost thou, disregarding me, enter at night this abode of mine which is similar unto Lankā ? Why speak much ? It is not now possible for thee to see and enter this so long as I guard it. (7)

Curse.—O Goddess, thou who residest in Lotus ! Leave off the body of Kamsa. Viṣṇu orders it.

Śri.—Sayst thou that Viṣṇu orders it ? Alas !

Due to my long residence, I am indeed unable to leave the King. He is powerful and is the abode of good qualities and it pains me.[24] (8)

But inviolable are the orders of Viṣṇu. So then shall I go to the presence of Viṣṇu. (*Exit*)

Curse.—Rājaśri is gone. Well, this has now become our abode. Alakṣmi, Kāḷarātri, Mahānidrā, Pingalākṣi, let us go in and divert ourselves as becomes our nature.

All.—Henceforth thou shalt fall away from righteous conduct.

Curse.—Closely do I embrace thee who art ever devoted to *Adharma*. I, the Sage's Curse, have now reached you, and thou wilt ere long go to ruin. (9)

(*Disappear*[25])

(*Entering*)

Portress.—Hail, my lord !

King.—Hem !

Portress.—I am Yaśodharā, my lord.

King.—Yaśodharā, did you not notice the entrance of the Caṇḍāla women ?

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[24] Have we here a peep into the general character of woman?

[25] See notes 15and 19. The whole effect of the scene lies in the mode of staging it. It must be such as will produce this impression of illusion.

Portress.—Caṇḍāla women? Entry here is difficult even for those who daily live at your feet; what then need be said of Caṇḍāla women?

Kamsa.—Can it be a dream I have seen?[26] Yaśodharā, go and bring in our chamberlain Vālāki.

Portress.—As my lord orders. (*Exit*)

(*Then enter the Chamberlain*)

Chamberlain.—Hail, my lord!

King.—Worthy Vālāki, you will consult our preceptors what is signified by the divine manifestations, seen to-night,—storms, earthquakes, shooting stars.

Chamberlain.—As Your Majesty orders. (*Going out and entering*[27]) Your Majesty, the preceptors[28] inform you thus.

King.—What is it?

Chamberlain.—Listen,

That being, O King, which ordinarily resides in the regions of the sky, is come down to the earth on a particular purpose. By the sounds of the divine trumpets and by earthquakes is denoted the wonderful change at the time of his birth. (10)

King.—At whose birth did the earth with the mountains shake? Know whose is he the son and what is the object of his birth? (11)

Chamberlain.—As Your Majesty orders. (*Going out and entering*) Hail my lord![29] Queen Devaki has given birth to a daughter.

King.—Is it true?[30]

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[26] This makes clear that the whole scene is a dream for Kamsa and that it is located in the private chambers of the king. *Cf.* notes 15 and 19.

[27] The translation is based on the suggestion of the editor. We feel however that there is no need for such an emendation; for an efficient minister naturally comes ready prepared to answer all questions from his master.

[28] The text here is doubtful. Possibly the preceptors are those appointed annually.

[29] The suggestion made by the editor gives good reading. There is evidently a lacunæ.

[30] This anxiety proves that the king's nerves were shattered.

Chamberlain.—Your Majesty, I have never uttered a falsehood. I saw the child in the hands of the nurse, surrounded by your servants.

King.—Why, though false, a Brahmin's word is truth to me. Go and call Vasudeva.

Chamberlain.—As Your Majesty orders. (*Exit*)

King.—Vasudeva is virtuous and truth-speaking. Further, he will never utter a falsehood in my presence. Well, we will hear him.[31]

(*Then enter Vasudeva*)

Vasudeva.—My six children lost, I live on with my body emaciated with sorrow. Called by the wicked King, do I now go like a dependent servant. (12)

Alas, such is the course of the world.

The king is (a source of) fear when remembered; also (a source of) fear when not remembered. Both with fear and without, (he) must ever be approached.[32] (13)

(*Approaching*)—O Son of Śauraseni,[33] I am here.[34]

King.—Son of Yādavi, take your seat.

Vasudeva.—Well. (*Sitting down*) Son of Śauraseni, why were we called in ?

King.—Son of Yādavi, Devaki has delivered ?

Vasudeva.—Yes, she has.

King.—What has she given birth to ?

Vasudeva.—(*To himself*) Even I have to utter a lie. What shall I do now ? Well, I see. For the protection of the prince even falsehood becomes truth.[35] (*Aloud.*) She has given birth to a girl.

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[31] The scene is located in the private chambers of the king and unto this place is Vasudeva called in.

[32] Here as in similar cases the question arises as to the disposition of the stage, so that the scene might have the required air of reality. There must apparently be two different levels.

[33] Notice the interesting mode of address. Kamsa is called *Śaurasenīmāta* and not *Śaurasenīputra*. Is there not a Malayali touch here ?

[34] The text here must be read *ayamasmi* instead of *āsyatām*.

[35] The text has been slightly rearranged.

King.—I must at all events kill it, whether it be a girl or a boy. By my manliness shall I indeed cheat fate. (14)

(*Entering*)

Portress.—Hail, my lord. Our Queen sends this message. " Your Majesty, be merciful since it is a baby and a girl."

Vasudeva.—Son of Śauraseni, hearken unto the words of the wretched.

Devaki.—Women have greater fondness for girls.

King.—Don't you remember, sire, my vow?

On hearing the sage Madhūka's curse, I have taken a vow that I will kill all the offsprings of Devaki. (15)

Vasudeva.—Vow! Then I don't speak.

Portress.—My lord, what shall I tell the queen?

King.—Yaśodharā, tell Devaki this—" It is not proper to press me on this score. Something dearer I may do."

Portress.—As my lord orders.

King.—Yaśodharā, do so.

Portress.[36]—Freely enter, my lord (?)

Vasudeva.—I love to be faultless and yet have I become an instrument in bringing about the death of another's child. Or shall I bring back the prince and offer him? Or why,

This baby was first dead but was later resuscitated by the greatness of that child; it can never be destroyed. (16)

I shall now go and console Devaki. (*Exit*)

King.—Yaśodharā, let the child be brought in.

Portress.—As my lord orders. (*Exit*)

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36 The text here seems to be not clear. In the first place as it stands it has not much significance and secondly, the speech of Vasudeva cannot be as it is for he has not taken leave of Kamsa. See note 38 following. The king here is apparently giving directions to the portress regarding the destruction of the child and says that he will proceed to another part of the building. In this case there must be the stage direction *Exit King* and after that *Freely enter, my lord* must come. Then Vasudeva, being left alone, indulges in his soliloquy. This must then be followed by the direction *Then enter the King*. Unless some such alteration is made, the tragic deed which would be performed within the bed-room of Kamsa, to say the least, would be very inappropriate.

(*Then enter the nurse with the baby and the guard*)

All.—Slowly, slowly, madam. This is the middle gate. Enter, madam.

Nurse.—(*Entering*) Hail, Your Majesty! We have long been protecting the child.[37]

King.—This child is a worthy object for even king's eyes. Alas! that I have to murder also a girl!

Nurse.—Slowly, slowly, my lord.

King.—This is the *Kamsa Stone.*[38] Now then shall I to the terrible work.

This is the seventh child given rise to thro' the strength of the sage's curse. This also done to death, I shall have peace. (17)

(*Catching hold of it and striking*) Ah!

One part has fallen on the ground, while the other has flown up to the sky, and with its hands glistening with weapons appears as if risen to kill me. (18)

Ah, here is she now: risen up like the veritable manifestation of Kāḷarātri at the advent of the time of destruction, expanding in its terrible form, and leaning on a sharp javelin. (19)

(*Then enter Kārtyāyani with her retinue*)

Kārtyāyani.—Having killed Sumbha, Nisumbha, and Mahisha and having (thus) destroyed the strength of the enemies of the Devas, have I Kārtyāyani taken birth in the family of Vasudeva to bring ruin on the race of Kamsa. (20)

Kuṇḍodara.—I am he born of the awful sound produced at the time of the birth of the Goddess, the unconquerable Kuṇḍodara, the doer of terrible deeds in war. From the celestial regions to the broad earth shall I now hasten desirous of killing the proud Asuras, who are haughty on account of their great valour. (21)

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[37] The reading is evidently incorrect: the nurse surely has not been *long* protecting the child.

[38] The scene so far has been in the private chambers of the king. The *Kamsa Stone* cannot be located in the room of the king. To suggest the change of place the king must have left the stage and re-entered it.

Śūla.—I am the spirit Javelin, come down to the earth and I possess a glorious and beautiful form through the grace of the Goddess. I shall in battle kill Kamsa and exterminate him as Kārtikeya did the demon in the form of a tree in the ocean. (22)

Nīla.—I am indeed Nīla the author of quarrels, valorous and invincible in battle. I will kill the wicked Kamsa in battle as the great Śaktidhara killed Krauñca. (23)

Manojava.—I am Manojava, in speed the equal of wind, come here to carry out the purpose of the Goddess. I shall in the front of the fray deal with the Daityas as fire does with a mass of reeds. (24)

Kārtyāyani.—Kuṇḍodara, Śankukarna, Mahānīla, Manojava —come all of you. Let us go and be in the Ghoṣa in the garb of cowherds to enjoy the boyish deeds of the divine Viṣṇu. (25)

All.—As our Goddess orders (*Exit Kārtyāyani with her retinue*).

King.—Ah, it is dawn ![39]

Now for peace shall I enter the abode of peace and perform *Śānti* on a grand scale ; and I shall have peace.

(*Exeunt all*)[40]

End of Act II.

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[39] The whole scene must be taking place at night.

[40] As mentioned before, the scene would be impressive if there be proper scenic equipment and if the actors could act properly. If, however, it is acted as our usual dramas are, it is bound to fall flat. It is evidently intended for Cākyars to act.

Act III.

(*Then enter the aged Cowherd*[41])

Aged Cowherd.—Ho! Meghadatta, ho! Vṛṣabhadatta, here Kumbhadatta, here Ghoṣadatta, look, look, to the herd. Here in this Vṛndāvana after having drunk water to the full the herd comes bellowing. Coming out of the herd and tearing up hills, this bull now shines with its horns adorned with the chains of snakes, blue like the night lotus. This is yet another bull, fair like the moon, with its tail raised aloft and knees bent, looking beautiful, as it throws up the earth with its horns. Well, I shall now halloo for Dāmaka. O Dāmaka! Leave the cattle in a good place and come up with the calves.

(*Then enter Dāmaka*)

Dāmaka.—Ha, rich is my lord Nandagopa's grass. From the day of his son's birth, his happiness is wonderfully increasing. Well, let the herd stand here. I shall approach my uncle. (*Approaching*) Uncle,[42] I bow.

Aged Cowherd.—Peace, peace unto us and our herd.

Dāmaka.—Uncle, from the day of the birth of Nandagopa's son, our herd has become free from all diseases. The happiness of all cowherds is on the increase. Further, roots appear wherever we dig and flowers on every creeper.[43]

Aged Cowherd.—This is yet another wonder.[44] When Nandagopa's son was but ten nights old, there came the Dānava woman, Pūtanā by name, in the garb of Nandagopa's wife with her breasts filled with poison. Then she took the child and suckled it. Then knowing her, he felled her, when she became a Dānavī and lay dead. Then when the son

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[41] From the point of view of time analysis, this scene takes place some years after the birth of Kṛṣṇa.

[42] This deference to uncle, no less than the interesting mode of address with reference to mother would suggest that the author was a Malayali.

[43] The description shows how the Gokula was affected by the birth of Kṛṣṇa.

[44] In what follows the boyish adventures of Kṛṣṇa are described.

of Nandagopa was but a month old, there came the Dānava named Śakaṭa, in the form of a babble-coach. He also was recognised and with a single kick with his foot, he smashed him to pieces, when he became a Dānava and lay there dead. Then in good time Nandagopa's son goes to one house and drinks milk; goes to another and eats ghee; goes to one and swallows fresh butter; goes to another and feasts on pudding; goes to still another and looks covetingly on the pot of curd. The Gopa damsels naturally became angry and they spoke to Nandagopa's wife. She became angry and taking a rope and tying him in the middle fastened him to a mortar. Then drawing that mortar and seeing the two demons Yamala and Arjuna standing together in the form of trees he rushed between and dashed against them when the trees were smashed to pieces. Then the two Dānavas rose up from them and forthwith fell down dead. Then the Gopa people said that since he was possessed of great strength and prowess, he should thenceforth be called Dāmodara. Then when the son of Nandagopa was running hither and thither, the Dānava, called Pralamba, came in the disguise of Nandagopa. He took Saṅgharṣaṇa on his shoulders and was going, when Saṅgharṣaṇa gave blows on his head with his fists. Owing to the blows his eyes were crushed and he became a Dānava and fell down dead. Accompanied by the shepherds, he went to the palm grove to gather fruits. There in that grove came the Dānava, named Dhenuka, in the guise of an ass. Recognising him also, Dāmodara caught him by his hind legs and threw him up to bring down the palmyra fruits. He also became a Dānava and fell down dead. Then came the Asura, Keśi by name, in the guise of a horse. He also was recognised and Dāmodara put reins in his mouth and rode him twice. Then he became a Dānava and fell down dead. These and such other deeds have been done by master Dāmodara.

Dāmaka.—Uncle, let all this be. This day our master Dāmodara

comes to Vṛndāvana, accompanied by Gopa damsels for *Hallīsaka* dance.[45]

Aged Cowherd.—Then let us see master Dāmodara's *Hallīsaka* dance with all the Gopa damsels.

Dāmaka.—As my uncle orders.

(*Exit*)

Praveśaka

(*Entering*)

Aged Cowherd.[46]—Just before sunrise daily offer worship with great devotion by bowing down your heads to the mothers of the earth, the cows, who are full of nectar. (1)

Ah, the prosperity of our *pakkaṇas* (huts).[47] Let us all be ready and go in gala dresses for the sports with our drums ready.[48] Our Gopa damsels! Ghoṣasundari! Vanamālā! Candrarekhā! come, come quick.

(*Then enter all*)

All.—Uncle,[49] we bow to thee.

Aged Cowherd.—Ah girls, like a lion from its cave here comes our master Dāmodara, accompanied by master Saṅgharṣaṇa in complexion as fair as cow's milk, and surrounded by Gopālas.

(*Then enter Dāmodara and Saṅgharṣaṇa surrounded by young Gopas*)

Dāmodara.—(*Wonderingly*) How tastefully they dress, the Gopa women who are naturally very charming!

These Gopa damsels, whose faces and eyes are like lotuses and lilies blooming, whose bodies are as fair as the

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45 *Hallīsaka* is a mode of dramatic entertainment, described as a piece in one act, consisting chiefly of singing and acting, by seven or eight or ten females, perhaps a kind of ballet; or a circular dance performed by women under the direction of one man. The latter seems to be the variety intended here. *Vide* Saṁskrit Dictionary by Monier-Williams.

46 The main scene takes place the same day as the Praveśaka, being but a continuation of the same.

47 Pakkaṇa is the hut in which lower orders of people, like cowherds, live.

48 Some liberty is taken with the text. As it stands, it means ready with our pride and dressed like drums!

49 See note 42. The same deference to uncle is shown here.

pollen of the golden *campaka* flower, whose hair and hands are full of sylvan flowers, these, dressed in variegated colours and murmuring sweet, are diverting themselves. (2)

Saṅgharṣaṇa.—The Gopa damsels are come.

Some stand quite delighted, sounding their red drums made of Vesuki (?) some having lotus-eyes and lotus-faces divert themselves in varied ways; and others, having kept awake in their gladness in their huts filled with the bellowing of the cattle and now having come to the Vṛndāraṇya stand singing exceedingly pleased. (3)

Aged Cowherd.—Hem master, all have come quite ready.

Dāmaka.—Hail Victory, Lord.

Saṅgharṣaṇa.—Dāmaka, all the Gopa damsels come?

Dāmaka.—Yes, my lord, all of them have come quite ready.

Dāmodara.—Ghoṣasundari, Vanamālā, Candrarekhā, Mṛgākṣi, let us arrange for the *Hallīsaka* dance which befits our cowherd life.

All.—As my lord orders.

Saṅgharṣaṇa.—Dāmaka, Meghanāda, sound the musical instruments.

Both.—Lord, as you please (*Music is sounded*)[50]

Aged Cowherd.—Lord, you are performing the *Hallīsaka* dance; what am I to do here?

Dāmodara.—Thou art, indeed, the spectator.

Aged Cowherd.—Lord, as you say. (*All dance*)

Aged Cowherd.—Ha! Ha! Well sung! Instruments well played! Excellent dance! I too shall dance. I am very tired.

(*Entering*)

Cowherd.—Ha, Ha! Lord, clear out from this place!

Dāmodara.—Dāmaka, why art thou bewildered?

Cowherd.—Here is the Dānava, named Ariṣṭarṣabha, like destruction incarnate, who is breaking open the earth with his hoofs and whose roar I mistook for that of the cloud.

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[50] The stage-direction must be there.

Dāmodara.—So then Ariṣṭarṣabha is come. Go thou, brother, with these our Gopa boys and girls to the top of yonder hill and witness my fight with the wicked bull. I shall humble his pride.

. (*Exit Saṅgharṣaṇa with them*)

Dāmodara.—This, this is the wicked Ariṣṭarṣabha !

Tearing open the earth with his hoofs, throwing up the sides with his horns, and roaring, here comes the lordly bull running, as the terrified cowherds are looking on. (4)

(*Then enter Ariṣṭarṣabha*)

Ariṣṭarṣabha.—Ah, ho !

For the purpose of killing my enemy have I taken the form of a bull, the lustre from whose horns seems to scrape the skies. And now shall I attack my enemy who is sweetly roaring in the Vṛndāvan forest and roam about at pleasure. (5)

Here in this shepherd village the Gopa damsels miscarry on hearing my roar, and the earth marked with the crescent by the fore-part of my hoofs is shaking with its trees and forests. (6)

Where now is gone the son of Nandagopa ? Hallo ! Son of Nandagopa ! Where art thou ?

Dāmodara.—Ah, wicked bull, here, here ! Here do I stand.

Ariṣṭarṣabha.—Ha !

Very strong is, indeed, the boy who is struck neither with fear nor wonder on seeing my great strength and terrible figure and (on hearing) my loud roar. (7)

Dāmodara.—Ah ! What is this fear that I now hear from you ? Born am I on this earth to give protection unto the terrified. (8)

Ariṣṭarṣabha.—Ha ! Child art thou, and so thou knowst not fear.

Dāmodara.—Ah, wicked bull ! Dost thou taunt me with my childhood ?

Does not a man die even though bitten by the young cobra ? Formerly Krauñca was, indeed, done to death by the young Skanda. (9)

Ariṣṭarṣabha.—May be.[51]

Dāmodara.—Listen, fool, to this also. Is not the mountain, the conglomeration of hard stones, destroyed by the sprout-like *Vajra*? (10)

Ariṣṭarṣabha.—Hallo! Son of Nandagopa, what art thou after?

Dāmodara.—To lead you to destruction.

Ariṣṭarṣabha.—Art thou capable?

Dāmodara.—What doubt is there?

Ariṣṭarṣabha.—Well, then, arm yourself with any weapon you like.

Dāmodara.—Weapon, do you say? Hem!

These my arms, set in shoulders as hard as rock, are my weapons. Other weapons are for such weaklings as thyself. Now, struck with my club-like hands, if thou dost not at once fall down on the earth, I am not Dāmodara. (11)

Ariṣṭarṣabha.—So, then, begin the duel.

Dāmodara.—Ah, thou wicked bull! Shake me from the place, if thou hast the strength, me who am standing on one foot.

Ariṣṭarṣabha.—What doubt is there? (*Tries to do so but falls down in a swoon*).

Dāmodara.—Ha! Bull! Revive, revive. Thou wert proud of thy strength.

Ariṣṭarṣabha.—(*Reviving, to himself*)—Impossible to overcome is this boy!

Can He be Rudra or Śakra or lord Viṣṇu himself? Unfounded is my doubt. He is Viṣṇu himself. (12)

Alas,

Wherever we are born, there is manifest the support of the three worlds, Madhusūdana, for the destruction of the Dānavas. (13)

Well, even if killed by Viṣṇu, I shall have that eternal world for my abode. Hence shall I fight. (*Aloud*) Ha! Son of Nandagopa, my pride is up again.

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[51] The suggestion of the editor alone makes the text readable.

Dāmodara.—Hem ! Stop, stop now.

Dost thou prattle yet, O lordly Bull, even after falling into my hands, like the dark monsoon cloud, which has begun to rain ? Come, I throw thee down and thou shalt fall on the ground like the side of the dark mountain struck by *Vajra.* (14)

(*Doing thus*) Here, here is the wicked Ariṣṭarṣabha !

With his nose and mouth and eyes clotted with rushing blood, his hump and tail shaking, his feet and ears shivering, (here) falls dead on the earth the lordly Bull, the lord of Dānavas, like the mountain with its peaks struck with lightning. (15)

(*Entering*)

Dāmaka.—Hail victory, my lord ! My lord Saṅgharṣaṇa is gone to the Jumna pool on hearing that the great serpent is come up. Stop, stop, O lord, master Saṅgharṣaṇa.

Dāmodara.—I too have heard of this Kāliya, the proud lord of serpents. Well, I shall suppress his pride.

Many lives, Brahmins and cows, are destroyed by him. Henceforth he shall become very mild and devoid of all strength.[52] (16)

(*Exeunt*)

End of Act III.

(*To be Continued.*)

[52] This act also, like the preceding, gives ample scope for acting and if this is not attended to in the course of representation, it would be very tedious on the stage.

THE TWELVE IMAGES OF SPLENDOUR

(TWELVE JYOTIR LINGAMS)

BY C. M. RAMACHANDRAM CHETTIAR

IT is said of an English University man that he used to perfect his education by making a tour on the continent. As for a Hindu who is ever a student in religion, travel throughout Bharata Varsha is enjoined as a duty. For an ordinary person it would be for the purpose of perfecting his knowledge and to get the blessings of the great men living in the various sacred places. For an adept it would be to propagate his learning to humanity and to bless the people with real knowledge. Travel to sacred places had been undertaken from time immemorial by the rich as well as the poor, and by the ascetic as well as by the family man. Adversity and famine, war and tumult, want of communication and difficulty of travel, length of time and old age, never stood in the way of people undertaking such journeys. Greatest Acharyas from Sankara downwards are said to have entered the formidable regions of the Himalayas in their travels. Rich Zamindars with a big retinue and a zenana would pass through hostile territory and jungles infested with wild beasts and robbers, to reach their destination. Poor Sadhus, rich with religious experience, and nothing to wear but a langoti and with no equipment but a lota, would walk several days in the snowy beds on rocky peaks to reach Badri, Gangotri, Jamnotri and even to Mount Kailas. The Western scientists who stagger and tumble down in their attempts to scale Mounts Kanchana Ganga and Gourisankar although armed with all the up-to-date scientific appliances, munitions, sinews of war and provisions, would wonder how a semi-naked, ash-rubbed, skeleton-like mendicant could dare go up the snow line of the formidable heights of Himalayas and reach his ever-longed-for sacred *sanctum sanctorum.* But yet facts are there that Hindus do go to such places of pilgrimage at least once in their life (some

have done it even 13 times) to get and to give knowledge and to be blessed or to bless their fellowmen while there.

The ancients have located their sacred places throughout the length and breadth of the land. Here upon a small hill, there upon a big mountain, here near a mighty river, there on a small island, here at the junction of three rivers, there in the midst of a thick forest, here on the sea coast, there in a desert—in this manner temples have been constructed, perhaps with the view that a traveller should get all sorts of experiences of the people who occupied such places and of the country in which they are situated. To help the pupils and devotees in the work of remembering the names of such places, the ancients have sung songs stringing those names into garlands of verses. Pupils are made to commit those verses to memory and pious men do repeat them in their daily prayers with the idea of sanctifying their lives even though they had not been blessed with an opportunity to visit those places. We know the names of the Seven Sacred Rivers—Ganga, Jamna, Saraswathi, Narmada, Sindhu, Godavari and Kaveri—are repeated by Hindus during prayers at baths. Similarly the names of the Twelve Jyotir Lingams are memorised by the students during their studies and are repeated by them during prayers. There are three slokas giving their names only and another poem of twelve slokas giving more particulars about each place. *Siva Purāṇam* (in the 38th Chapter) deals with them in detail and gives another list of twelve Upa or minor Jyothir Lingams. The slokas are:—

Sourāshṭre Somanātham cha Srīśaile Mallikārjunam |
Ujjayinyām Mahākālam Omkāram Amaleśvaram ||
Prajvalyām Vaidyanātham cha Dākinyām Bhīmaśankaram
Sētubandhētu Rāmēśam Nāgēśam Dārukāvanē ||
Vārāṇaśyāntu Viśveśam Tryambakam Goutamītaṭe |
Himālayētu Kēdaram Ghrishnesham cha śivālaye ||

At a glance at the names of these places, it will be seen that they are strewn throughout the length and breadth of the country. The man who repeats these names will have an idea of the entire motherland of India standing in front of

his eyes. The divergence of castes and tribes, races and languages, hides itself behind and one united sacred field of Śivamayam appears before him. Such is the fundamental idea upon which our ancients have constructed the framework of location of sacred places and upon such notions their sacred lore. It will not be far wrong if we say that with the same fundamental idea in view Sri Sankara established his four great Matts in the four corners of the land, at Dwarka in the West, at Badri in the North, at Puri in the East, and at Sringeri in the South. Our ancients had always had the religious unity of the land in their minds upon which political and economical unity ought to have been built up, but, alas ! the country was not so very fortunate to succeed in the latter ideal.

Now coming to the twelve great Jyotir Lingams, which, we have said, are strewn in different places of the land, we find that they are and have been regarded as centres of great religious activity and force, and from thousands of years huge swarms of devoted pilgrims have been congregating there during festivals and on other occasions. Like flames of splendour, they have attracted all pious devotees and that is why they are called Jyoti, *i.e.*, flame of splendour. Some of the places have in course of time become less splendid and a few others nearby have eclipsed their glory. So now, one is not able to say that all are of equal splendour. It has become nowadays not possible even to locate some of them in their right places. For instance, names like Nageśa and Vaidyanātha are found in several districts and provinces and we could not identify what were originally meant. Different editions give different names for one and the same place.

Now let us see in detail about the various lingams and their locations.

1. Somanatha in Sourashtra

This place is on the sea coast in the Junagadh State in Kathiawar in Guzrat, Bombay Presidency. It was a place of great splendour during the early Hindu period endowed

with colossal wealth. The Lingam was a huge object and the temple looked like a fort. In 1024 A.D. Mahmud of Ghazni was attracted by its fabulous wealth, invaded the temple and destroyed the Lingam and won the title "Breaker of Idols". But his destructive work was not the last word upon the temple. Even to-day there stands the famous temple in all its splendour and thousands of pilgrims go to the place to tread upon its sacred soil hallowed by Sri Krishna's feet. (Dwaraka is nearby !)

2. Sri Saila

This temple is on a beautiful platform at the summit of the Nallamalai Hills in the Kurnool District just up the Krishna river where the latter is called Pātāla Ganga. The God's name is Mallikārjuna and the wild tribes call the God as "their Chenchu Mallayya". During Sivaratri thousands of people ascend up the thirty miles of rugged pathway in three days in order to worship God. The place had been a very ancient one and had been once a seat of learning. Sankara, Basava and other religious reformers have visited the place to establish their philosophical creeds. Shivaji, the famous monarch, was struck dumb with its devotional atmosphere, wanted to renounce worldly wealth to be an ascetic there and to sacrifice his life to God at that place. But fortunately for the country his idea was averted by the timely advice of his devoted ministers and by his Guru Ramdas.

3. Ujjain

The deity's name is Mahākāla. The place is a railway centre in Central India. It is said to be in the ancient city of Avantikā. It is on the River Siprā. This is the place from which our Hindu astronomers had calculated their first meridian. The famous astronomer King Jay Singh had erected his observatory at this place. The great Poet Kālidāsa was born in a village towards the east of this place. This place had seen great battles during the Muhammadan period. Vikramaditya legends are connected with this place. A little north of the town is the famous shrine of Mahākāla.

4. Omkar and Amalesvaram

The sloka on it locates it at Māndhātapuri. Mandāta is an island on the Narbada river in the Nimur District in the Central Provinces. Omkar is the deity on the island. Amalesvar is the temple on the southern bank of the river. So this is a dual sthala. The place acquired its name owing to the great sacrifice performed by the emperor Māndhāta. There are Jain and Vishnu temples at the place. The great fair of Omkarji is held about the 15th of Karthik every year. The nearest station to the place is Martaka on the Rajputana-Malwa line.

5. Vaidyanatha

One version locates it at Parali and another at the north-east direction. Southerners may locate it at Vaidisvaran Koil in the Tanjore District which has a big Siva temple. The Northerners have five places at different corners with the name of Baidyanath. Two at Santhal Parganas, one at Burdwan, one at Almora and the last at Kangra. According to *Siva Purāṇam* this place is at the southern side of Himavat Parvata in the Vrishakhandaka. This deity gave boon to Ravana on his doing penance which made him the most powerful in the land. Parali near Hingoli in the Dekhan seems to claim preference over the rest.

6. Bhimasankaram

It is in the fort at the village of Bhavargiri, Khed Taluk, Poona District, at a height of 3448 feet above sea level. Here the River Bhima or Chandrabhaga rises. The sloka on it says that the place was worshipped by Dākini and Sākini. Perhaps it was originally inhabited by the aboriginal hill tribes.

7. Ramesvaram

This is a place known to every Hindu. It is an island between South India and Ceylon in the Gulf of Mannar. Ramanathaswami is the name of the Deity. Sri Rama on his return from the conquest of Lanka, established a Linga and worshipped it to expiate the sin of killing the Rakshasas of Lanka. Sethu is the bridge which Rama built to cross the

sea to Lanka. The northerners go to this place in huge numbers. The temple is very large and very rich.

8. Nagesam

This is said to be in Dārukāvanam and is also called Nāganātham in Sadanga Nagaram in the South. It is difficult to locate this place for there are nearly ten places which go by the name of Naga. Dārukāpuram is another name of Sankara Nayanar Koil in Tinnevelly District. There are places in Tanjore, Salem, Travancore, Chingleput and Tinnevelly which have towns with the Naga appellations and deities with similar names, not speaking of Nagpur and other places in Central Provinces. According to *Siva Purāṇam* at this place Siva destroyed the sacrifices made by the Dārukāvanam Rishis who followed anti-Vedic rites.

9. Visvesam

It is at Vāranāsi (Benares). Benares or Kāsi is a household name of every Hindu. It stretches crescent-like with palatial Ghats for several miles along the sacred River Ganges. A Hindu would like to breathe his last at this place, so that he might enter heaven. From time immemorial it is a religious and philosophical centre where religious teachers including the famous Buddha delivered discourses on religion. Sāranāth, the famous Buddhist centre, is nearby. The Hindu University is located here. Viśveśvara, the God of the Universe, is the cynosure towards which every Hindu can turn his eyes without distinction of caste or creed.

10. Tryambaka

On the Western Ghats or Sahyadri, twenty miles west of Nasik, the temple is on the river Godavari. Once in twelve years a great festival is held when Jupiter enters the constellation Leo.

11. Kedaram

This is a temple on the Himalayas in the Garhwal District, of the United Provinces. The peak on whose side the temple is located is a snowy one of about 22,853 feet above sea level. At five places called Pānch Kedār, Siva is said to have left portions of his body, the principal being Kedārnāth. Nearby

there is a precipice called Bhairab Jhamp where devotees sacrificed their lives to attain salvation by throwing themselves down from it. Now the practice does not exist.

12. Ghrishnesam

This is said to be at Ilapuri. It is difficult to identify this place. Uttarakāṇḍa of *Rāmāyaṇa* mentions an episode of Śiva and one Ila near the Himalayas. It may be therefore a place near the Himalayas. But the South Indian version is that the twelfth Lingam is merely a combination of all the previous eleven Lingams and hence without any specific name it is called Śivālayam. But as *Śiva Purāṇam* gives twelve distinct names, the twelfth also should be a separate one unconnected with others.

As regards the twelve minor or Upa Lingams, I give their names. It is rather difficult to identify them without much research and study. A Hindu who visits all these twelve places will certainly become an adept in knowledge and free from sins being purified by such varied experience as aptly expressed in the final ślōka.

Sloka :

Etāni jyotirlingāni sāyam prātaḥ paṭhennaraḥ |
Saptajanmakritam pāpam smaraṇena vinasyati. ||

(The list is taken from the 38th Chapter of *Siva Purāṇam.*)

	Jyotir Lingams.	*Upa Lingams.*
1.	Someśvara.	Andhakeśvara.
2.	Mallikārjuna.	Bhrugarkachata.
3.	Mahākāla.	Dugdheśa.
4.	Omkāra.	Kardhaneśvara.
5.	Kedāra.	Bhuteśa.
6.	Bhimaśankara.	Bhimeśvara.
7.	Viśveśvara.	Sharanyeśvara.
8.	Tryambaka.	Siddeśvara.
9.	Vaidyanātha.	Vaijanātha.
10.	Nageśvara.	Bhuteśvara.
11.	Rāmeśam.	Gupteśvara.
12.	Ghrishneśa.	Vyaghreśvara.

SOME SOUTH INDIAN POETESSES

BY K. RAGHAVACHARYULU, M.A., B.L.

LITERARY genius makes no distinction of time, place or sex. पुराणमित्येव न साधु सर्वं sings the immortal bard Kālidāsa in his *Mālavikāgnimitra*. Śaktibhadra in his *Āścharyachūḍāmaṇi* says that merit is the only criterion, not the division of the country to which the author belongs 'गुणाः प्रमाणं न दिशां विभागः'. We have already seen how Rājaśekhara and Vātsyāyana declared that poetry was not the sole monopoly of the male sex.[1] South India has its share in the development of Sanskrit literature and the names of Mahendra Vikrama Varman, Śaktibhadra, Vidyānātha, Appaya Dīkṣita, Vedānta Deṣika, Veṅkaṭādhwarin, Nīlakaṇṭha and a score of others shine forth as stars of the first magnitude in the literary firmament. The finer sex has not been found lacking in arts and accomplishments. Tradition and verses ascribed to Rājaśekhara point to Vijjikā the authoress as having a South Indian origin though the authorship of *Kaumudīmahotsava* is still open to doubt.

1. Gangādevī

First and foremost among South Indian Poetesses has to be mentioned Gaṅgādevī, the author of *Madhurāvijayam* or *Vīrakamparāya Charitam*.[2] The work describes the conquests of Kampana, the son of Bukka, one of the founders of the Vijianagar Empire. Kampana defeated Champarāya of Tuṇḍiramaṇḍala or Tondaimandala about 1361 A.D. and the available work which runs to eight cantos stops with his conquest of the Sultan of Madura. Gaṅgādevī, the authoress, is described as a keep of Kampana by Mr. J. Ramayya Pantulu[3] while Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar[4] refers to her as a wife of

[1] Refer to my article on "Vijjikā" in the *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XXIV, Part 2.

[2] Published by Pandits G. Harihara Sastri and V. Srinivasa Sastri at Trivandrum in 1916.

[3] *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. II, Parts 3 and 4.

[4] *Sources of Vijianagar History*, p. 23.

Kamparāya. Verses 39 to 41 of canto VII are important in this connection:

अथ कम्पनृपोऽपि कृत्यवित् कृतसन्ध्यासमयोचितक्रियः ।
अवदत् सविधे स्थितां प्रियां भुवि गङ्गेत्यभिनन्दिताह्वयाम् ॥ (39)
कमलाक्षि ! कटाक्ष्यतामयं समयो वर्णनया रसार्द्रया ।
जन एष वचस्तवामृतं श्रवसा पाययितुं कुतूहली ॥ (40)
इति सा दयितेन भाषिता दरनम्रं दधती मुखाम्बुजम् ।
वदति स्म शनैः शुचिस्मिता सरसोदारपदां सरस्वतीम् ॥ (41)

These coupled with the colophon which reads thus: इति श्रीगङ्गादेव्या विरचितं . . . . would seem to indicate that Gaṅgādevī was a queen of Kampana rather than his concubine.

In the Introduction to the work, Gaṅgādevī praises Kriyāśaktiguru, Vālmīki, Vyāsa, Kālidāsa, Bāṇa, Bhāravi, Daṇḍin, Bhavabhūti, Karṇāmṛtakavi, Tikkaya, Agastya, Gaṅgādhara and Viśwanātha. Her verse describing Kālidāsa is very significant and points out how later poets borrowed actually their ideas and expression from the writings of the immortal bard.

दासतां कालिदासस्य कवयः के न बिभ्रति ।
इदानीमपि तस्यार्थानुपजीवन्त्यमी यतः ॥ (1–7)

Canto I of the work after the usual invocations describes the city of Vijianagar and the reign of Bukka. Cantos II and III describe the birth of Kampana, his growth to manhood and the exhortation of Bukka to proceed against Champarāya of Conjeevaram. Canto IV deals with the expedition, the defeat and death of Champarāya. Canto V describes Prince Kampana's camp at Marakatanagara and cantos VI and VII his life and enjoyments in camp. Particularly the latter canto describes his conversation with the authoress Gaṅgādevī referred to above and her description of the spring season. In canto VIII, a goddess appears before Kampana and exhorts him to proceed against Madura and uproot the Mussulman power in the south. Kamparāya accordingly proceeds against the Sultan of Madura and kills him. The manuscript breaks off at this point and we are not in a position

to say into how many cantos the work originally ran or what its further contents were. The editors of the work think and reasonably too that, as the book is styled *Madhurāvijayam*, it would not run more than a canto beyond the available work.

The style of *Madhurāvijaya* is elegant, easy flowing and free from pedantry or rhetoric. The work abounds in descriptions which clearly show that her poetic fancy was of a very high order. Her diction is beautiful and shows traces of influence of classical poets especially of Kālidāsa. The following verses would amply illustrate the force of the above remarks regarding Gangādevī's poetry:

गुणं विहाय काव्येषु दुष्टो दोषं गवेषते ।
वनेषु त्यक्तमाकन्दः काको निम्बमपेक्षते ॥ (1–20)

यदङ्गनामुखाम्भोजलावण्यालाभलज्जितः ।
कलङ्कच्छद्मना चन्द्रो व्यनक्ति हृदयव्यथाम् ॥ (1–61)

यत्र कामभ्रुवामेव काठिन्यं स्तनमण्डले ।
कौटिल्यं कबरीभारे कार्श्यं मध्ये च दृश्यते ॥ (1–65)

कमलोदरसंभृतं करैर्मधु पीत्वा रविरुज्झिताम्बरः ।
स्पृशति स्म दिशं प्रचेतसो न मदः कस्य विकारकारणम् ॥ (7–5)

उडुपुष्पकरम्बितं तमः कचभारं दधती निशीथिनी ।
अचिरादियमन्वपालयत् कुमुदस्मेरमुखी निशाकरम् ॥ (7–33)

Apart from being a great kāvya, the *Madhurāvijaya* supplies us with some historical material referring to Bukka I and Kampana. We learn that Bukka I had a wife *Devayi* and had by her three sons Kampana, Kampana the junior and Saṅgama. The invocation to Guru Kriyāśakti would seem to show that some of the early kings of Vijianagar were Śaivas of the Śrikaṇṭhāgama sect and that they were not as yet disciples of Vidyāraṇya. As such, Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, in his introduction to the work, opines that Vidyāraṇya was not the founder of the Vijianagar Empire and that his priesthood of, or domination over, the kings of Vijianagar was achieved at or about the time when *Kamparāyacharitam* was composed. This theory is open to grave doubts. Tradition and inscriptional evidence as regards the origin of the Vijianagar

Empire and the part played by Vidyāraṇya in the founding of the capital city would seem to indicate that some of the early sovereigns of the empire though followers of the Śaivāgama schools must have held Vidyāraṇya and his advaitic followers in great reverence. The authenticity of the Kapalūru grant and the Canarese Inscriptions which throw light on the origin of the empire has been sufficiently discussed by Historians and most of them have adopted the view that Vidyāraṇya was really responsible for the founding of the city though the opposite view still finds favour with some.

The work again mentions that Champarāya of Conjeevaram was killed by Kampana. This is against the testimony of Sanskrit works like *Sāluvābhyudaya* and *Rāmābhyudaya* and Telugu works like *Jaimini Bhāratam* and *Varāhapurāṇam* which state that he was only defeated and reduced to vassalage. Evidently this is a poetic flight of the authoress Gaṅgādevī.

Madhurāvijayam confirms the local chronicles and the *History of Tinnevelly* by Caldwell in mentioning the conquest of Madhurā by Kampana and the defeat of the Mussulmans. The followers of Malik Kafur ruled Madhurā for about 50 years after 1312 A.D. until it was wrested from them by Kampana. Another significant fact which throws a good light on the epigraphical evidence of the period is the existence of two sons of Bukka by name Kampana. The epigraphical material referring to Chikka Kampana, Hiriya Kampana or Kumāra Kampana has to be sifted in the light of this information.

2. Tirumalāmbā

Next in order of chronology comes Tirumalāmbā, the authoress of *Varadāmbikāpariṇayam*.[5] The work is a Champū Kāvya, relating to the youth of Achyutadevarāya and his marriage with Varadāmbikā and the birth of China Veṅkaṭādri. The book ends with the installation of China Veṅkaṭādri as heir-apparent. The work *Achyutarāyābhyudaya* of Rājanātha Diṇḍima begins with the coronation of Achyuta and the installation of China Veṅkaṭādri as heir-apparent and as

[5] A copy of the work is in the Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.

such is complimentary to the subject-matter of *Varadāmbikāpariṇayam*. The latter work can thus be ascribed to a period about 1530 A.D. the year of Achyutarāya's accession.

Varadāmbikā was the daughter of Salakarāja and her brothers the two Tirumalas seem to have wielded a great influence in the court of Achyuta. Achyutarāya had another queen Tirumalāmbā (though *Varadāmbikāpariṇayam* is silent about it) whose sister Mūrthimāmbā was given in marriage to Chevva, the founder of the Tanjore Naik dynasty.

The work *Varadāmbikāpariṇayam* gives the genealogy of Achyuta's family and describes the campaigns of Narasa his father. The colophon at the end of the work describes her accomplishments. She is said to be greatly admired by Achyutarāya for her achievements. Epigraphical collection No. 9 of 1904 refers to one Oduva Tirumalamma who is said to have composed a verse on the occasion of the gift of "Swarṇameru" by Achyutarāya. *Achyutarāyābhyudaya* corroborates the gift of "Swarṇameru" by Achyutarāya at the time of his coronation (canto 3–50). It can be safely assumed that the author of *Varadāmbikāpariṇayam* is the same as the lady referred to in Epigraphical Collection No. 9 of 1904, but details about her life or parentage are lacking. The historical material contained in the work has been noticed at pages 170–172 of the *Sources of Vijianagar History* by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar. The style though not so easy and elegant as that of *Madhurāvijaya* is still vigorous and forcible. The following verses may be taken to be illustrative of it:

अनन्यसामान्यगुणादिसान्द्रः तदन्ववायार्णवपूर्णचन्द्रः ।
कौक्षेयसाक्षीकृतवीरलक्ष्मीकरग्रहोऽभूद्भुवि तिम्मभूपः ॥
स्थिरे जले सेतुरकारि पूर्वं तदद्भुतं नेति कवेरजायाः ।
सेतुं प्रवाहेषु गुणाभिरामः चित्ते सतामद्भुतमप्यबध्नात् ॥

3. Rāmabhadrāmbā

The Naik rulers of Tanjore and Madura and the latter Marāṭha rulers of Tanjore were great patrons of Sanskrit and Telugu literature. They not only produced works in Telugu

and Sanskrit but also encouraged in their courts a number of poets and poetesses many of whose works have come down to us. Raghunātha, the son of Achyuta Naik, is the hero of the poem *Raghunāthābhyudaya* by Rāmabhadrāmbā. A copy of the manuscript is found in the Tanjore Library. Raghunātha was himself the author of *Rāmāyaṇam* and *Vālmīki Charitam* in Telugu and of *Saṅgīta Sudhā* and other works in Sanskrit. His son Vijayarāghava wrote in Telugu Dvipāda metre a work *Raghunathābhyudaya* and a *Yakshagāna* of the same name celebrating the life and victories of his father. Raghunātha Naik was the patron of Chemakūra Veṅkaṭakavi whose Telugu work *Vijayavilāsamu* has attained immortal fame in the field of letters. The names of Govinda Dīkshita, the minister and author of *Sāhitya Sudhā*, his son Yajñanārāyaṇa Dīkshita, the author of *Sāhityaratnākara*, Srīnivāsa Dīkshita *alias* Ratnakheta and his son Rājachūḍāmaṇi Dīkhsita, the author of *Rukmiṇīpariṇayam* sufficiently demonstrate the cultural greatnesss of the Naik rulers of Tanjore.

Raghunāthābhyudaya is a work of twelve cantos and in canto I, the authoress praises Raghunātha for his literary productions and describes him as her lord:

रसप्रधानान् रघुनाथनेतुः प्रबन्धभेदान्मम श्रावयन्त्याः ।
प्राङ्निर्मितानेककविप्रबन्धप्रस्तावनाय प्रभवेन्मतिः किम् ॥ (1–9)
शब्दार्थयोर्मम समप्रधानं वशंवदं यस्य वदन्ति सर्वे ।
कृती स एवात्र कृतौ सहायो **नाथो मम श्रीरघुनाथनामा** ॥ (1–10)

Canto VI gives the history of his family and cantos VII to X describe his victories over Cholaga, the Portuguese of Jaffna and Jaggaraja. Cantos XI and XII describe his amusements in court with his poets and musicians. No details are forthcoming of the poetess Rāmabhadrāmbā also, except that she was patronized by Raghunātha and claims him as her lord (1–10). The colophon says that she acquired her learning by the favour of God Rāmabhadra and that she has been installed on the throne of Sāhitya Sāmrājya or the kingdom of letters:

इति **श्रीरामचन्द्रकरुणाकटाक्षलब्धसारसारस्वतप्रवर्धमान** शतलेखिनीसमय-

लेखिनयाष्टभाषाकल्पितचतुर्विधकवितानुप्राणितसाहित्यसाम्राज्यपदपीठारूढ रामभद्राम्बाविरचिते रघुनाथाभ्युदये महाकाव्ये द्वादशः सर्गः समाप्तः ॥

The poetry of Rāmabhadrāmbā is far superior to that of *Varadāmbikāpariṇaya* and approaches that of *Madhurāvijaya* in poetic fancy and elegance. The following verses are illustrative of the style of the work:

प्राकारचारिभटमुक्तशिलाकलापवृष्ट्या सधूमविसरो वियति व्यलोकि ।
पाषाणवर्षपरिपूरितदिग्विभागा कल्पान्तदुस्सहघना घनमण्डलीव ॥ (8–92)

वेलापथे तस्य विभोर्गजानां कर्णानिलैः केतकगर्भरेणुः ।
प्रसारितस्तत्र पयःपयोधिमाकल्पयन्तं लवणाम्बुराशिम् ॥ (9–3)

4. Madhuravāṇī.

Besides Ramabhadrāmbā, there was a lady called Madhuravāṇī in the court of Raghunātha Naik who translated the Telugu *Rāmāyaṇam* of her patron into Sanskrit. It is said that she was originally called Śukavāṇī and that Madhuravāṇī was the title bestowed upon her:

चतुरमधुरवाणीं सम्यगाकर्ण्य यस्याः
सदसि मधुरवाणीनाम दत्तं त्वयैव ।
सरसकृतिविधायां साधुमेधाविशेषा-
स्वधिकपटुरशेषास्वम्बुजाक्षीषु सैषा ॥

The anonymous verse

आकारेण शशी, गिरा परभृतः, पारावतश्चुम्बने····

in the *Subhāshitāvali* is ascribed by Peterson to Madhuravāṇī on the authority of the work *Subhāshitahārāvali*. She is said to be a very accomplished lady like Rāmabhadrāmbā belonging to the courtesan class. She describes in the following verses that the court of Raghunātha was full of ladies of very high accomplishments in literature and fine arts:

चातुर्यमेति कवितासु चतुर्विधासु
वीणाकलाप्रकटने भवति प्रवीणा ।
प्रज्ञामियं निपुणमञ्चति पाणिनीये
मेधां व्यनक्ति बहुधा विविधावधाने ॥
वीणागानकलाविनोदसमये धृत्वा समस्याशतं ।
सद्यस्संसदि साधु पूरयति या दत्ताः कवीन्द्रैस्तया . . . . ॥

विपञ्चिकायां चतुराः प्रगल्भाः शास्त्रेतिदक्षाः सरसप्रबन्धे ।
समीपमेतस्य समेत्य केऽपि सुभूजनाः स्वस्वकला वितृण्वन् ॥
सर्वोत्तरस्वादिमसंस्कृतान्ध्रप्रबन्धनिर्माणपचेळिमानि ।
यशांसि भूयांस्यवतारयन्त्यः सहस्रशः सन्ति सरोजनेत्राः॥

5. Sundari and Kamalā.

As has been already referred to, the Maratha Rajahs of Tanjore were equally great lovers of Sanskrit literature as the Naik kings of Madura and Tanjore. Tukkoji (1729–35 A.D.), one of the early Maratha rulers of Tanjore, was himself the author of a work called *Saṅgīta Sārāmṛta.* His Minister (Gṛhāmātya) was Ghanaśyāma Paṇḍita, well known as the author of a commentary on *Uttararāmacharita* of Bhavabhūti. He is said to have written sixty-four works on various subjects. His wives were Sundarī and Kamalā, accomplished in arts and literature. Ghanaśyāma refers to them in his commentaries on *Uttararāmacharita* and *Viddhasālabhañjikā.* The commentary on the latter work was called *Prāṇapratishṭhā* (प्राणप्रतिष्ठा). The two ladies Sundarī and Kamalā also wrote a commentary on the drama *Viddhasālabhañjikā* called *Chamatkārataraṅgiṇi* (चमत्कारतरङ्गिणी) available in the Tanjore collection. They wrote the following verse as a justification for attempting another commentary on *Viddhasālabhañjikā :*

कृता व्युत्पन्नसिंहेभ्यो नाथपादैरविस्तरा ।
प्राणप्रतिष्ठा या तस्या मूलस्याप्यर्थदैव या ॥
सुन्दरीकमलाभ्यां सा व्युत्पन्नानां सुबोधने ।
इयं प्रणीयते टीका चमत्कारतराङ्गिणी ॥

Mr. V. A. Ramaswami Sastri in his article on "Ghanaśyāma"[6] calls the commentary *Sundarīkamalīyam.* If so, the words चमत्कारतरङ्गिणी might be taken as a mere description of the work.[7]

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[6] *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. III, pp. 231-243.

[7] For information on Ghanaśyāma and his family refer besides the above article "The Maratha Rajahs of Tanjore" by K. R. Subramanyam, p. 41, and the note by Prof. P. V. Kane in his introduction to *Uttararāmacharita*, pp. 31-32.

JAINA VESTIGES IN THE PUDUKOTAH STATE

BY S. R. BALASUBRAHMANYAN, M.A., L.T.

AND

K. VENKATARANGA RAJU

II. Tenimalai

TENIMALAI is the name of a hill about 18 miles north-west of Pudukōṭah town. It is in the Tirumeyyam Taluk of the State. It was one of the centres of the Jains in the past, and was known as Tēnūrmalai according to an inscription found here.

On the southern slope of this hill, there is a natural cavern, which has been adapted as an abode for Jain ascetics. West of the cave and about 15 feet from its ground-level, there is the figure of a Tīrthaṅkara with triple-umbrellas overhead. Below this figure there is an inscription in archaic Tamil which mentions that the image was set up by Śri Valla Udana Ceruvoṭṭi (No. 10 of the Inscriptions of the Pudukōṭah State).

On a boulder about 50 feet away to the east of this hill is another inscription in archaic Tamil. It refers to a gift of land as *paḷḷikandam* in favour of Malaiyadvaja, a Jain ascetic, by Iṛukkuvēḷ—perhaps a local chief of Koḍumbāḷūṛ (No. 9 of the Inscriptions).

As the inscriptions are in archaic Tamil characters and as there is no mention of a ruler of the Pallava or Pāṇḍya imperial line, it is likely that the local chief—Iṛukkuvēḷ—belonged to a period prior to the 7th century A.D.

APPENDIX

Inscription No. 10.—

1. Svasti srī sri val
2. la udana ceṟuvo
3. ṭṭi ceyvitta
4. tirumēni.

Translation.—Hail Prosperity! This is the sacred figure set up by Srī valla udana ceṟuvoṭṭi.

Inscription No. 9.—

1. Svasti srī malaiyadhvajan tē
2. nūr malai-il, tavañje-
3. yekkaṇḍu iṟukku-
4. vēḻ vandrittu avippu-
5. rañjeyda paḻḻicanda-
6. ṇ nālēkāḷ || ivvarañgā
7. ttān aḍi nittañ-cenni
8. ni aḷa.

Translation.—Hail Prosperity! Iṟukkuvēḻ after having worshipped (the Jain ascetic) Malaiyadhvaja who was doing penance on the Tenūr hill, made a grant of 4½ units of land (ma's ?) as paḻḻicandam for supply of *food* (avi). May the feet of the protector of this charity be always on my head.

THE UPANISHADS OF THE ATHARVA-VEDA

By N. K. Venkatesan

"चतुर्णामपि वेदानां....उपनिषदश्शिरः"

(शुकरहस्योपनिषत्.)

Vedic Religion falls into two distinct divisions, the one dealing with our daily conduct in life and the other with incessant speculation on the ultimate values of life. While the Vedas deal with both the divisions, the value of the Upanishads lies in the fact that they lay stress on the particular aspects of the Vedic religion which appealed to the individuals who practised and speculated on the religion and philosophy propounded in the four Vedas. The Upanishads or the philosophic and esoteric manuals of thought bearing on the four Vedas—Atharva, Sāma, Yajur and Rig—are a hundred and eight in number, as specified in the *Muktikopanishad* of the *Sukla-Yajur-veda*, propounded by Sri Rāma to his most devoted disciple Māruti or Hanumān. Of these 108 Upanishads, 10 belong to the *Rig-veda*, 19 to the *Sukla-Yajur-veda*, 32 to the *Krishna-Yajur-veda*, 16 to the *Sāma-veda* and 31 to the *Atharva-veda*. Topically arranged these Upanishads might be thus classified. 39 belong to the "Jnāna Kānda", and 62 belong to the "Karma Kānda", while 7 deal with miscellaneous topics associated with the "Karma Kānda". It might be interesting to notice at the outset that while ordinarily it is believed that the Upanishads are primarily philosophical and speculative in their topical interest, on actual examination it would be realised that the Upanishads which deal with the "Karma Kānda" or our daily conduct in life are greater in number than those that deal with purely metaphysical speculation. The undue predominance given to the metaphysical value of the Upanishads is due not a little to the change in the trend of modern thought in India, consequent on the great movement of Vedāntic Revival set afoot by the great Āchāryas, Sankara, Rāmānuja and Madhwa. The stress laid by these great teachers on the

metaphysical interpretation of Vedic religion, was necessitated by the wave of opposition that passed over the country at that time, owing to the influence of Buddhism which discounted the ritualistic value of the Vedic religion and set a premium on the escape from ritualism in order that one might attain salvation. In order to stem the tide of Buddhistic thought, it was necessary for Sankara to attack the various doctrines opposed to Vedic-philosophic canons and for this purpose he took the "Ten Upanishads" as the basis for his speculation and wrote elaborate commentaries on them. In later times though Rāmānuja and Madhwa considerably modified the mould of thought in the Bhāshyas of Sri Sankarāchārya and attempted to attach greater and increasing values to the "conduct" side of life "beside the wisdom" side of it, the history of thought in India underwent a clear change towards speculation and "renunciation" and receded from "practical ritualism" and "attachment to life". This change is much to be regretted because it produced a clear cleavage in the Aryan community. While the "speculators" grew larger and larger in number, thus reducing the number of "ritualists", it had one unfortunate effect on the country's wider interests. The followers of Vedic religion began to consider "ultimate renunciation" or Sanyāsa as the best end of human life and "Karma" to be the means and even to be the "necessary evil" with the aid of which jnāna and moksha had to be secured for the individual. This change in the value given to life has been responsible more or less for the social, political, economic and spiritual decay of the Aryan community during the past two thousand years very nearly. A close study of the Upanishads, however, relates quite a different tale. The ten Upanishads form a very small and insignificant part of the Upanishadic literature. It is necessary to closely analyse all the Upanishads in order to find out the real import of the mass of literature contained in the Upanishads.

In the 108 Upanishads, two distinct phases of thought are clearly observable. The stress is differently laid on the different aspects of life in the various Upanishads. In general

it might be stated that the Upanishads of the *Atharva-veda* lay stress on the "upāsana" or the meditation side of life, those of the *Krishna-Yajur-veda* on the "upāsana" and "jnāna" sides of life, those of the *Sukla-Yajur-veda* on the value of "renunciation or sanyāsa", those of the *Sāma-veda* on the "exterior aspects" of religion, while those of the *Rig-veda* which are the least in number, merely echo the phases of thought in the *Yajur-veda* and the *Atharva-veda*.

Of the well-known ten Upanishads, 3 belong to the *Atharva-veda*, *viz.*, Praśna, Muṇḍaka and Māṇḍūkya, 2—Īśa and Brihadāraṇyaka—to the *Sukla-Yajus*, 2—Kaṭha and Taittirīya—to the *Krishna-Yajus*, 2—Kena and Chāndogya—to *Sāma-veda*, and 1—Aitareya—to *Rig-veda*. In the *Muktikopanishad* we are told that the study of the *Māṇḍūkya* alone leads one to "mumukshutvam" or liberation from the bondage of life. The Sanyāsins value this Upanishad most and the commentary on this by Sri Sankarāchārya is the text for their daily meditation on the supreme spirit or Brahman.

In the *Praśna Upanishad* we are told of the manifestation of Brahman in the worldly creation, of the "prāṇa" or life—the essence of created existence, of Purusha who is manifest in the movements in the body, of the relationship between the different grades of consciousness in the manifested being, of the Paramātman who is equivalent to Praṇava or aum and of the sixteen "Kalās" or "rays" of "Purusha". This Purusha is the "Ego" or "I" and all the 16 "Kalās" go back to "Paramātman," even as "all rivers lose themselves, their names, and forms in the sea". This Upanishad of the *Atharva-veda* makes an analysis of "self", Purusha and equates the "soul" with Praṇava.

The *Atharvaśikhopanishad* prescribes the meditation of "Praṇava" or "aum" and makes its four feet—ă-ŭ-m̆, and ½ matra equal to the four Vedas and gives the mode of meditation as aum (1), aum (2), aum (3), (1, 2, 3, standing for the "mātra kāla" or length of pronunciation of the sound).

The *Muṇḍakopanishad* deals with the merits of the Karma-Mārga as was followed in the Treta Yuga and emulates the

Jnāna-Mārga as superior to the Karma-Mārga and like the *Praśnopanishad* equates Paramātman with aum and makes aum, the Dhanus (the bow) and the Jīva, the Bāṇa (the arrow), with Parabrahman as the lakshya or aim of the shot. All the Nāḍis (nerves) of the body are likened to the spokes of a wheel, which end at the centre, the heart. It further says that the knowledge of Paramātman is obtained through yoga and qualities like Ahimsā, Satya, Brahmacharya, Tyāga, Śama, Dama, etc. Jīvātman and Paramātman are both in us, the former taking part in the joys and sorrows of life, the latter remaining as a mere witness unmoved by the experiences of life. The Brahma-jnānin, says this Upanishad, becomes one with Parabrahman, as the air of the pot becomes one with the air of the atmosphere and as the image of the sun is lost when the reflecting medium is removed.

The *Māṇḍūkyopanishad* concentrates on the syllable aum and analyses its four parts—ă-ŭ-m̆-½ matra and gives them separate occult existences in the names of Vaiśvānara, Taijasa, Prajna, and Ātma. Thus all the four Upanishads, the three Praśna, Muṇḍaka and Maṇḍūkya with the addition of Atharvaśikha deal with the Praṇava and make meditation on the Praṇava, the means to wisdom and liberation from the bondage of life.

The two minor Upanishads—*Annapūrṇopanishad* and *Ātmopanishad*—deal with Vedāntic speculation. The *Annapūrṇopanishad* deals with five sorts of illusions regarding life and answers them; makes moksha equivalent to giving up sanga (association) and bandha (binding), expatiates on Videha-mukti and Jivan-mukti and ultimately prescribes Prāṇāyāma (a yogic device) as the means to salvation. The *Ātmopanishad* analyses Purusha into three parts: Ātman, Antarātman and Paramātman. In these six Upanishads of the *Atharva-veda*, we really pass through three phases of thought: *viz.*, (i) meditation on the sound of aum, (2) the realization of its oneness with Paramātman, (3) the thought that salvation lies through yoga abhyāsa (Prāṇāyāma). The three basic notions of the Jnāna-Kānda are thus dealt with in the six Atharva

Upanishads reviewed above. Beside these, it is interesting to compare the Upanishads of the other Vedas which bear on this topic. The topical interest of these Upanishads might be thus summarised :—

I. *Sāma-veda* :—

(1) *Kena* deals with the greatness of Brahman as opposed to the senses.

(2) *Chāndogya* deals with the Ātman as equivalent to Brahman.

(3) *Maitrāyani* deals with Ātma-jnāna.

(4) *Maitreyi* deals with Nirguṇa-vidyā and Vairāgya.

II. *Krishna-Yajur-veda* :—

(1) *Kaṭha* deals with Ātma-jnāna.

(2) *Taittirīya* deals with Brahmavichāra in three vallis—Śiksha, Bhṛgu and Ānanda.

(3) *Brahma* deals with Praṇava.

(4) *Amṛta Bindu* deals with Nirvishayatva.

(5) *Sarva-sāra* deals with Bandha and Moksha.

(6) *Brahma-vidya* with meditation of Praṇava and Hamsa (ओं—हंस).

(7) *Śarīraka* deals with Jīvan-mukti.

(8) *Avadhūta* deals with the Mahāvākyas.

(9) *Varāha* deals with general Vedāntic enquiry.

III. *Sukla-Yajur-veda* :—

(1) *Īśavaśya* deals with Ātma-jnāna.

(2) *Bṛhad-āraṇyaka* deals with Jnāna, Brahman, Gāyatri, etc.

(3) *Nirālamba* deals with Brahmavichāra.

(4) *Adhyātma* deals with the knowledge of Nārāyaṇa.

(5) *Muktika* gives the names of 108 Upanishads and Rāma preaches Brahmajnāna to Ānjaneya.

(There is distinct Vaishnavite tinge in 4 and 5 above.)

IV. *Rig-veda* :—

(1) *Aitareya* deals with Ātman as equivalent to Prajna.

(2) *Kaushitaki* deals with Brahma-jnāna.

(3) *Ātma-Bodha* deals with the Praṇava and Mukti.

(4) *Nirvāṇa* deals with Jnāna.

After a close study of all these Upanishads, one conclusion is clear that while the Upanishads dealing with Vedānta-vichāra in the *Sāma*, *Yajur*, and *Rig-vedas* deal with the general enquiry of Brahman and the means to attain moksha through Jnāna and Vairāgya, the six Upanishads of the *Atharva-veda* make the basis of jnāna and moksha, meditation of the Praṇava and in the *Maṇḍūkya Upanishad* and the *Atharva-śikhopanishad*, clear instruction is given for the meditation of the Praṇava. Thus, these might be said to lead the Vedānta-vichāra contained in the Upanishads of all the Vedas dealing with this topic.

Closely allied with the speculation on the nature of Brahman and the means of knowing and realizing Brahman, is the topic of Vairāgya and Sanyāsa—dissociation from and renunciation of the world and its attractions. It is interesting to note that the lead in this topic is given by the *Sukla-Yajur-veda* Upanishads. Five Upanishads of the *Sukla-Yajur-veda*, *viz.*, Paramahamsa, Bhikshuka, Turiyātītāvadhūta, Yājnavalkya and Śātyayana Upanishads deal with Sanyāsa and Sanyāsa Dharma. The *Rig-veda* does not deal with this topic in any special Upanishad. A short Upanishad known as the *Kaṭha* (not the well-known *Kaṭhopanishad* of the ten Upanishads) deals with Sanyāsa Dharma. Among the *Sāma-veda* Upanishads, four deal with this topic. The *Aruṇika* deals with Sanyāsa Dharma, the *Mahopanishad* with Vairāgya, the *Sanyāsa* with the six sorts of Sanyāsa and the *Kundika* with the Dharma of the Brahmachārin and the Sanyāsin.

Three Upanishads of the *Atharva-veda* deal with this topic which become all-absorbing in the post-epic and pauraṇic periods after the advent of Buddha and Sankara. *Nārada Parivrājaka Upanishad* tells us the means to Moksha, the four āśramas and their Dharma, the importance and greatness of Sanyāsa and Jnāna as opposed to Karma, the rituals to be observed before one becomes a Sanyāsin, the four kinds of Sanyāsa based on Vairāgya, Jnāna, Jnāna-vairāgya and Karma-sanyāsa with its two subsidiary kinds—Ātura and Krama. It also deals with the six orders of Sanyāsins—*viz.*, Kuticha, Bahudaka, Hamsa, Paramahamsa, Turiyātīta and

Avadhūta. It also gives the rules and regulations to be observed by the Sanyāsins of all these grades and the Abhyāsa or practice required for attaining moksha. The Upanishad then deals with the meditation of the Praṇava and cuts up the Praṇava with the usual analytic method of the *Atharva-veda* Upanishads, into 8 divisions, 16 mātras, 64 mātras, etc. The Upanishad winds up with a disquisition on Parabrahmasvarūpa. The trend of the whole Upanishad creates the inevitable impression that this Upanishad belongs to a later age and is influenced by the Upanishads of the other Vedas, especially of the *Sukla-Yajus* school.

Closely associated with this Upanishad in topical interest is the *Paramahamsa-parivrājakopanishad* which deals with Jnāna and Brahma-upāsana in relation to four Avasthas or states as described in the *Māṇḍūkyopanishad* and expatiates on the Sanyāsa-āśrama, its rules and regulations as in the *Nārada Parivrājaka*, with this one difference that while the *Nārada Parivrājaka* deals essentially with the Sanyāsa-āśrama and its Dharma, this Upanishad gives a very elaborate treatment to the esoteric value of Praṇava, which might be expressed somewhat in this manner for a bird's-eye-view of the subtlety of thought-analysis in the Upanishad :—

AUM (Praṇava)

a	*u*	*m*	*½ mātra*
I. *Jāgrat.*	*Svapna.*	*Sushupti.*	*Turiya.*
i. Viśva-Viśva	i. Taijasa-Viśva.	i. Prajna-Viśva.	i. Turiya-Viśva
ii. Viśva-Taijasa	ii. Taijasa-Taijasa	ii. Prajna-Taijasa.	ii. Turiya-Taijasa.
iii. Viśva-Prajna	iii. Taijasa-Prajna.	iii. Prajna-Prajna.	iii Turiya-Prajna.
iv. Viśva-Turiya	iv. Taijasa-Turiya.	iv. Prajna-Turiya.	iv. Turiya-Turiya.
II. 16 *mātras.*			
(1) a-jāgrat-viśva.	(5) Bindu-swapna-viśva.	(9) Śāntāu-sushupti-viśva.	(13) Parā-turiya-viśva.
(2) u-jāgrat-taijasa.	(6) Nāda-swapna-taijasa.	(10) Śāntyatīta-sushupti-taijasa.	(14) Madhyama-turiya-taijasa.
(3) m-jāgrat-prajna.	(7) Kalā-swapna-prajna.	(11) Unmanya-sushupti-prajna.	(15) Paśyanti-turiya-prajna.
(4) ½ mātra-jāgrat-turiya.	(8) Kalātīta-swapna-turiya.	(12) Manon-manya-sushupti-turiya.	(16) Parā-turiya-turiya.

BRAHMA.

This Upanishad appears to be of an earlier origin than the *Nārada-Parivrājaka*; and the *Para-Brahmopanishad* which describes the Brahma-pura, and gives the metaphysical interpretation of and new jnānic values to Śikha, Upavīta, etc., appears to be of a distinctly later origin than the other two Upanishads.

From a close examination of the nine Upanishads of the *Atharva-veda*, belonging to the jnāna-kānda, the basis of jnāna and moksha would appear to be the meditation of the Praṇava or aum—the great mystic symbol of the late Vedic and the immediately post-Vedic period. It is in the *Sukla-Yajus* and the *Sāma* Upanishads that the bias for Vairāgya and Sanyāsa appears and this phase of thought seems to belong to the post-epic and pauranic period. The three *Atharva-veda* Upanishads dealing with Sanyāsa seem to belong to this late period of thought evolution.

II

If the lead to the Jnāna-Kānda was given by the *Atharva-śikha* and the *Māṇḍūkya* Upanishads, the lead to the Mantra-śāstra and Upāsana-kānda seems to have been given by the *Sūryopanishad* of the *Atharva-veda*. The earliest Upanishad of the *Atharva-veda* was manifestly directed to Surya, as Vena (Surya) is said to have first descended from Father Atharvan. The *Sūryopanishad* begins as a comment on the *Atharva-Āngirasa* "अथ सूर्याथर्वांगिरसं व्याख्यास्यामः". It gives the three pādas of Gāyatri, with the addition of the Praṇava and gives also the Sūrya-ashtākshari (8 letters) of the *Kathaka-Brāhmaṇa*. This Upanishad must be said to be the connecting link between the Upāsana-kānda and the Jnāna-kāṇḍa. It says असावादित्यो ब्रह्म Āditya—(Surya)—is Brahma; once the principle of meditation on the Praṇava, the Ashtākshari, the Sūrya-Devata, was established as the normal method of upāsana for the realization of Brahman, a host of Upanishads came into existence. In this department of thought and practice, the lead is clearly given by the *Atharva-veda*.

As many as 20 Upanishads of the *Atharva-veda* deal with Upâsana and it is in the growth of this Upanishadic literature that we find the beginnings of the mantra-śâstra. I shall just set forth below succinctly the salient features of these 20 Upanishads of the *Atharva-veda*:—

Upanishad	Devata	Mantra	Special features
1. Sūryopanishad	Sūrya	Ashtākshari (8 letters)	Śākta school (earliest)
2. Atharva Śiras	Rudra	Praṇava (aum)	Rudra's greatness is dealt with. Importance of Bhasma dealt with. Saivite school
3. Śarabha	Rudra and Śiva		Sarabha-avatār of Śiva, Rudra
4. Nṛsimha-Tāpini	Nṛsimha	Bījāksharas *Chakra* and Praṇava	4th avatar of Vishnu. Vaishnavite school
5. Tripura-Tāpini	Devi	Devi Mantra Śri Vidyā *Sri Chakra*	Mantra-Śāstra. Śākta school (middle phase)
6. Devi	Devi		
7. Bhāvana	Devi		
8. Rāma-Tāpini	Rama	Bījākshara and *Chakra* Mantra	Mantra śāstra applied to Rāma and Sītā. Śākta school (middle phase)
9. Rāma-Rahasya			
10. Sīta	..	..	
11. Annapūrṇa	Annapūrna		
12. Ganapati	Ganapati	Mantra	Based on Sūryopanishad. Ganapati form of Śakti. Gāṇapatya school
13. Bhasma-jabala	..	..	Deals with Bhasma, Rudrāksha, Śiva-Linga pūja, etc. Āgama period
14. Mahā-Vākya	Āditya	Mantra	Vedāntic tenor
15. Gopāla-Tāpini	Krishna	Mantra	Pūja of Krishna etc. Āgama period
16. Krishna	Krishna	Mantra	Purānic tenor. Paurāṇic period
17. Hayagrīva	Hayagrīva	Mantra	Connected with Mahāvākyas. Vedāntic tenor
18. Dattātreya	Dattātreya	Mantra	First mention in Śāndilyopanishad
19. Garuḍa	Garuḍa	Mantra	Against poisons etc. Modern phase of mantra-śāstra
20. Mahā-Nārāyaṇa	Nārāyaṇa	Mantra *Chakra*	An extensive and comprehensive Upanishad. Latest phase of Vaishnavite revival

Through these twenty Upanishads, one could trace the growth of thought in relation to upāsana in a somewhat chronological order, more or less as indicated in the above table. We could trace the influence of Sūrya-upāsana and the worship of Rudra (the prominent feature of the *Atharva-veda*) in the first 3 Upanishads (1—3). Passing through the fourth—the *Nṛsimha Tāpini* relating to the fourth avatār of Vishnu—we arrive at the beginnings of the Śākta school, the middle period

before Râma-avatār and after Nṛsimha-avatār. To this period belong Upanishads 5, 6 and 7. These were followed by the Upanishads 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 in which we find the influence of the Śākta school. The Upanishads 13 to 20 show the conflict between the Śaivite and the Vaishnavite schools through a long period in which were introduced the āgama worship, the paurāṇic literature of all the five schools of thought —Saura, Śaiva, Śākta, Gāṇapatya and Vaishṇava.

Beside these *Atharva*-Upanishads, it would be interesting to notice the Upanishads of the other Vedas which deal with

Upanishad	Devata and mantra	Special features
I. Krishna-Yajus		
i. Kaivalya	..	Saguṇa and Nirguṇa upāsana
ii. Śveta-Śvatara	..	Nirguṇa upāsana
iii. Nārāyaṇa	Ashtākshari	All 4 Vedas summarised
iv. Śuka-Rahasya	..	Mahāvākyas
v. Dakshināmūrti	Dakshiṇamūrti mantra	
vi. Skanda	Hari-Hara	
vii. Ekākshara	Praṇava	
viii. Akshi	Sūrya	
ix. Rudra Hṛdaya	Rudra and Umā	
x. Pancha Brahma	Śiva (5 mantras)	
xi. Prāṇāgnihotra	..	Yajna of body (Śarīra)
xii. Kali-Santarana	Rama, Krishna	
xiii. Saraswati Rahasya		Based on Śrī-Sūkta
II. Sāma-veda		
i. Avyakta	..	Mantras, japa, etc.
ii. Sāvitrī	Savitā, Sāvitrī, Gāyatri etc., Bala and Ati-Bala mantras	Mantra śāstra
III. Sukla-Yajus		
i. Jābāla	Rudra	Japa, etc.
ii. Hamsa	Hamsa	Hamsa-10 nādas (sounds).
iii. Subāla	Nārāyaṇa	Creation dealt with
iv. Māntrika	..	Avyakta-vidya.
v. Paingaḷa	..	Mūlaprakṛti as cause of creation
vi. Tāra-sāra	Rāma, Nārāyaṇa and Praṇava	
IV. Rig-veda		
i. Nāda Bindu	12 mantras of aum	
ii. Aksha-mālika	..	Interpretation of 50 letters of alphabet
iii. Tripurā	Devi (Amṛteśvarī)	Śrī Vidyā, Śrī Chakra, etc.
iv. Mudgala	Vishnu	Purusha-sūkta
v. Saubhāgya-Lakshmī	Lakshmī	
vi. Bahvṛcha	Devi	Names of Devi—creation from Devi

N.B.—All the Upanishads distinctly show the influence of the Upanishads of the *Atharva-veda*.

upāsana and mantra-śāstra. The second place of importance is occupied in this department by the Upanishads of the *Krishna-Yajur-veda*. The names and contents of all the Upanishads I set forth in the preceding table.

For a clear appreciation of the steps by which the conception of upāsana and the mantra-śāstra were evolved in the history of thought during the long period that elapsed between the close of the Vedic period and the modern age of classical Sanskrit literature, I shall give below short summaries of the 20 *Atharva-veda* Upanishads. These Upanishads—all of them belong to the epic, post-epic and paurāṇic periods—represented perhaps roughly by the Treta and Dvāpara Yugas.

(1) *Sūryopanishad* gives Sūrya-ashtākshari and the meditation of Sūrya as Brahman.

(2) *Atharva-Śiras*.—On being asked by the Devas, Rudra tells them "He is all". The Devas praise Rudra that he is equal to Praṇava—aum. The Upanishad also deals with Pāśupata-vrata and the importance of Bhasma, the symbol of Saivite faith. This Upanishad specially mentions the greatness of the followers of *Atharva-veda*.

(3) *Śarabha*.—In answer to the question, who is the greatest—Brahma, Vishnu or Śiva? the answer is given that *Śarabha*, the avatār of Śiva is greatest. He is spoken of as the ender of Nṛsimha and the world. This Upanishad seems to be the sequel of :—

(4) *Nṛsimha-tāpini-Upanishad* which is an extensive glorification of the incarnation of Vishnu as Nṛsimha. In the Pūrva Bhāga of this Upanishad, we are told that all creation was from Sāma. It gives the Sāvitri-ashtākshari, given in the Sūryopanishad, gives the Mahālakshmī mantra of 24 letters, and the mantra of 32 letters, Nṛsimha mantra—for the universal use of all, including women and Śudras, to whom it says mantras like Sāvitrī, Praṇava and Lakshmī yajus are not allowed for upāsana. This mantra in anushtubh metre containing 32 letters is reproduced as a śloka in the later Venkateśvara Sahasranāma Stotra in the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa with slight variation. Then it deals with the Praṇava and

recites the *Māṇḍūkya* Upanishad, the Sāvitrī mantra and the Lakshmī yajus. Then it equates in 32 mantras all the manifestations of the universe with Nṛsimha. It proceeds to give the Chakra of 6 letters (Sudarśana), of 8 letters (Gāyatrī), of 12 letters (Vāsudeva), of 16 letters (Mātṛka), of 32 letters (Nṛsimha). The Uttara Bhāga of the Upanishad is devoted to the treatment of aum, the *Māṇḍūkyōpanishad* and equates the upasana of aum, with the Nṛsimha mantra and compares the Praṇava to the seed of a banyan tree which becomes all expansive in its growth.

(5) *Tripura-tāpini* expounds the Śrī-Vidyā, extols Tripura-Bhagavatī, gives the fourth pāda of Gāyatrī, extensively deals with the mystic significance of the Gāyatrī mantra, the Śakti mantra, and the Śiva mantra of 32, 44 and 32 letters—totalling 108 letters and equates them all with the 16 letters of Devi and analyses the mantras in relation to Devī and Praṇava.

(6) In the *Devi-Upanishad* the Vedic mantras are taken and analysed ; the names of Devi are given and the forms of Devi as *Lakshmi* and (*cf*. जातवेदसे—T. A. X, 2) *Durga* (Agni) are dealt with. This is the pivot of the mantra-śāstra or Śri Vidyā.

(7) In *Bhāvanopanishad* the human body is compared to Śri-Chakra ; and elaborate mental upāsana of Devi is worked out in this beautiful Upanishad. These three Upanishads form the basis of Śrī-Vidyā.

(8) *Rāma-tāpini* is modelled on the *Nṛsimha-tāpini* and *Tripura-tāpini* and it makes Rāma equal to Parabrahman. It gives the Rāma mantras and also prescribes the worship of the image of Rāma and gives the yantra for pūja—quite in the modern āgamic fashion. The story of Rāma is succinctly related and the panchāyatana of Rāma, *viz*., Rāma with his three brothers and Sītā is dealt with as equivalent to aum and Mūlaprakṛti (*ă* is Saumitri, *ŭ* is Śatrughna, *m̐* is Bharata, half-mātra is Rāma and Sītā is mūlaprakṛti). Then like the *Nṛsimha-tāpini* the Upanishad gives the Rāma mantras and 47 manifestations of the universe as equivalent to Rāma,

(9) *Rāma Rahasya Upanishad* declares the greatness of Rāma as Parabrahman and Hanumān teaches the devotees of Vishnu, the Rāma mantras, the shaḍakshari, the Rāma chakra and the significance of Rāma Tāraka—*RĀ* of Nārāyaṇa and *MA* of Namas-śivāya making up the great name of *RĀMA*. We are also told in this comparatively modern Upanishad that the Rāma mantra and japa are equivalent to and are based on the Praṇava and its upāsana.

(10) The *Sītopanishad* is the concomitant of the Rāma Rahasya Upanishad and extols the great power of Sītā and with the usual philological analysis characteristic of the *Atharva* Upanishads, the sounds of the word Sītā stand for Satya, Amrita, Māya and Tāra and the whole term Sītā is equivalent to the Praṇava and represents the Mūlaprakṛti, the cause of all creation. Sītā is the cause of Ânanda in association with Rāma. A disquisition on Śakti follows dividing Śakti into Icchā, Kriyā and pure Śakti and gives the śāktaic interpretation of Sītā. Kriyā-śakti is Brahma-svarūpa, the pure Śakti represents all power of action and the Icchā-śakti sits in the form of Śrī-vatsa in the right breast of Vishnu, in three manifestations, Yoga, Bhoga and Vīra, *viz.*, the meditating, the enjoying and the activising aspects of Śakti. We are also told in this Upanishad that the *Atharva-veda* has five śākhas or branches, the *Rig-veda*—21, the *Yajur-veda*—109 sākhas. Mention of the Vaikhānasa-mata is found in the Upanishad. The Upanishad is a fine blending of the Śākta and the Vaishnavite phases of thought and interpretations of the God-head.

(11) *Annapūrnā Upanishad* just recites the Annapūrṇa mantra and proceeds to expound the Vedāntic doctrines.

(12) *Gaṇapati Upanishad* is an excellent example of the blending of the language of the earliest Sūryōpanishad and the middle śāktaic doctrine of Brahma-svarūpa. Gaṇapati represents Śakti and has his seat in the Mūlādhāra-chakra. It inculcates the Gaṇesa-vidya, and enunciates the Gaṇapati mantra with the method of meditation, etc. Gaṇapati is said to have been born at the time of creation, immediately

after Prakṛti and Purusha, in consonance with the Saivite doctrine that Gaṇapati is the first born of Śiva and Umā. This Upanishad is a blend of Saivism and Śāktaism.

(13) *Bhasma-jābāla Upanishad* gives Siva Panchākshari and the Siva Ashtākshari mantras and gives the rules for pūja of Siva-Linga and also refers to the use of Bhasma, fully dealt with in *Brihad-jābāla Upanishad*. This belongs clearly to the age of āgamic worship.

(14) *Mahāvākyopanishad* is more or less Vedāntic in its tenor but its value consists in its stressing that Āditya is Brahman and Paramjyoti and refers to the Purusha-sūkta doctrine of creation आदित्यवर्णं तमसस्तु पारे, etc.....

We now come to the last set of the most modern Upanishads all belonging to the period of Vaishnavite revival, *viz.*—

(15) *Gopāla-tāpini*.—This Upanishad says that Krishna is Parabrahman, gives the Krishna mantras, and the prayer to Krishna, in the first part. In the second part, it speaks of the greatness of Krishna-avatāra and the splendour of Dwāraka, goes on to give instructions for the pūja of the image of Krishna, tells us that all creation is from Gopāla, makes the Krishna-bīja, *Klim* क्लीं equal to aum and makes Rukmaṇī, the mūlaprakṛti, like Sītā in the *Sītopanishad*, expatiates on Saguṇa and Nirguṇa upāsana and finally sets forth a prayer to Krishna on the lines of *Nṛsimha-tāpini* and the *Rāma-tāpini* Upanishads.

(16) *Krishnopanishad* relates the popular story that in accordance with the promise given by Rāma to the munis, Rāma incarnated himself as Krishna and the munis of the Treta Yuga as the Gopis of the Dvāpara Yuga, to enjoy the constant company of Nārāyaṇa. This Upanishad gives the story of the Krishna avatāra and relates the greatness of Rāma and Krishna avatāras :—

"निगमो वसुदेवो यो वेदार्थः कृष्णरामयोः"

(17) *Hayagrīva Upanishad* gives the Hayagrīva mantra of 29 letters and 34 letters and gives the Bīja-akshara *Hsaum*. The aim of the Upanishad is to increase "knowledge" in a person.

(18) *Dattātreya Upanishad* gives the mantras of Dattātreya of one letter, 6, 8, 12 and 16 letters and gives the māla, japa, etc., of Dattātreya. A reference to this avatār is given in the Śāndilyopanishad. The upāsana of Dattātreya is closely connected with "yoga-abhyāsa" and Dattātreya is an Avadhūta-avatār of Nārāyaṇa.

(19) *Garuḍopanishad* connects the literature of the Upanishads and the mantra-śāstra of the Vedic type with the massive literature which has grown in the modern age in the name of "mantra-śāstra." The Upanishad gives the Garuḍa mantras, instructions for Garuḍa upāsana, etc., with a view to avert the evil effect of poisons of all sorts. One is forcibly reminded here of the simple hymns of the *Atharva-veda* Samhita used to ward off the evil effects of poisons of all sorts (*cf.*, A.V., IV. 6, 7; V. 13; VI. 12, 100; VII. 56, 88; of these I have often used VII. 56 and found it very efficacious). The language and import of this Upanishad stands in striking contrast with those of the *Atharva-veda* Samhita.

(20) *Mahā Nārāyanopanishad.*—This I consider to be the best product of the Upanishadic literature of the Vaishnavite school. This Upanishad marks, in my opinion, the culmination of the Upanishadic literature and the starting point of the massive literature of the purāṇas. In the pūrva-kānda of this Upanishad, Vishnu tells Brahma the greatness of Nārāyaṇa as the creator of the Universe and also deals with the general aspects of creation and in the uttara-kānda, we are told of the means by which we could reach Vaikunṭha, the eternal abode of Nārāyaṇa. In the Upanishad we are told that Sadāchara, Guru-upadeśa, upāsana and Dhyāna are the means by which Vaikunṭha could be attained by man. A beautiful description is given, even as in the purāṇas of all the lokas leading ultimately to the highest of all lokas, the Vaikunṭha of Nārāyaṇa. For upāsana, the Nārāyana yantra is elaborately and minutely dealt with. It is an elaborate yantra containing in it (1) the praṇava, (2) the single bījāksharas of Nārāyaṇa, Jaganmohana, Varāha, Māya, Manmatha, Agni, Ankuśa, Srī, (3) the two bījāksharas of Amṛta, (4) the ekākshara

of Nṛsimha and Hayagrīva, (5) the Tryakshari (3 letters) of Nīlakanṭha, (6) the Panchākshara (5 letters) of Siva and Garuḍa, (7) the Shaḍakshara (6 letters) of Vishnu, Nṛsimha, Rāma, Krishna, and Sudarśana, (8) the Ashtākshara (8 letters) of Nārāyaṇa, Nṛsimha, Rāma, Krishna, Śrikara, Vāmana, Sūrya, (9) the Navākshara (9 letters) of Rāma, Krishna, Hayagrīva, and Dakshināmūrti, (10) Daśākshara of Rāma and Krishna, (11) the Dwādaśākshara (12 letters) of Nārāyaṇa, Vāsudeva, Mahā Vishnu, Rāma, and Krishna, (12) the mātṛka-panchadaśākshari (15 letters of Devi), (13) the Shoḍaśākshari (16 letters) of Krishna and Sudarśana, (14) Ashtādaśākshari (18 letters) of Vāmana and Krishna, (15) the Gāyatri (24 letters) of Hayagrīva, Nṛsimha, Sudarśana, Brahma, Rāma, Krishna, Siva, and the Veda (with 4 padas), (16) the Anushtubh mantra (32 letters) of Nārāyaṇa, Hayagrīva, Rāma, and Krishna, (17) the 36 letters of Hayagrīva, (18) the 38 letters of Hayagrīva, (19) the māla of svaras, Sudarśana, Garuḍa, Rāma, and Krishna, (20) the mantras of Lakshminārāyaṇa, Hayagrīva, Gopāla, Dadhi-Vāmana, Annapūrṇeśvarī, Śaranāgata-Nārāyaṇa, Chāturvimśati, Kaushtubha, Vishvaksena, Parabrahma, Hamsa-soham, Nārāyanāstra, Mahā-Nīlakanṭha and Lokapālas, (21) Dvādaśa Vajra and Dvādaśa-kalpaka-taru. Thus the Nārāyaṇa yantra is a comprehensive universal yantra common to all the schools of thought and worship and aims at taking the upāsaka or meditator to the eternal abode of Nārāyaṇa through self-surrender and Bhakti. In the course of this Upanishad, all the deities and mantras in the Upanishadic literature are reproduced with the exception of Gaṇapati mantra given in the Gaṇapati Upanishad. It might be that this particular Upanishad was later than the Mahānārāyanopanishad. It cannot be said that the omission was due to Vaishnavite prejudice for in their very Upanishad we find the mantras of Śiva and Dakshiṇāmurti and in the *Gopāla-tāpini* Upanishad two of the names of Krishna are given as "Rudra" and "Vināyaka". The Upanishad recounts the mahāvākyas, refers to yoga and closes with the statement that the best and the easiest way to reach Vaikunṭha is Bhaktiyoga. The language

of the Upanishad is a mixture of the Upanishadic and the Paurāṇic styles.

In these twenty Upanishads of the *Atharva-veda*, we trace clearly the growth of the mantra-śāstra and upāsana. The *Atharva-veda* Upanishads give a clear lead in this department of thought.

Closely related to upāsana, is the practice of yoga. Yoga-abhyāsa is to upāsana what Sanyāsa is to Jnāna. The one Upanishad of the *Atharva-veda* which deals with the topic of Ashtānga-yoga is the Śāndilyopanishad. The Upanishad deals with 10 kinds of yama, 10 kinds of niyama, 8 āsanas, 3 phases of prāṇāyāma, 5 kinds of Pratyāhāra, 3 kinds of Dhāraṇā, 2 kinds of Dhyāna and with Samādhi, where the meditator becomes one with Chaitanya. शुद्धचैतन्यात्मिका भवति । The Upanishad incidentally refers to the way in which āsana or posture leads to the purification of nādis or nerves of the body and it also deals with the occult physiology of the human body, the nādis, the chakras, the mudras and the vāyus. The Upanishad gives practical instruction for yoga and represents *a*, *u*, *m*, of the praṇava as Bālagāyatri, Sāvitri and Sarasvati and represents aum, as equal to the Eternal Light (Paramjyoti). Thus it gives yoga a Śāktaic turn. It speaks of the powers obtained by a yogi and the siddhi he obtains through his yoga-drishti or occult vision. The Upanishad deals with Brahma-vidya, the creation, the preservation, the destruction of the world and refers to the three forms of Brahma,—Nishkala, Sakala and Sakala-nishkala—and makes Dattātreya the yogic embodiment of Brahma. It states that the eternal light was evolved by Anasūya at the bidding of Atri in the form of Dattātreya, for the salvation of humanity. This beautiful Upanishad is the one Upanishad of the *Atharva-veda* which gives to the mantra-śāstra the heroic figure of Dattātreya and shows the new way of yoga to the upāsaka for attaining jīvanmukti through mantra and Daiva upāsana. It is not only by giving up the world and attaining jnāna that moksha could be had, but it could be had also through the practice of yoga and the meditation on the Devatas and mantras as laid

down in these Upanishads. (*Vide* for Dattātreya mantra, upāsana, etc., *Narada* and *Brahma-vaivarta* purāṇas.)

This phase of thought, *viz.*, Yoga, is fully dealt with in the Upanishads of the *Krishna-Yajur-veda.* The *Garbhopanishad* is a treatise on human physiology, the nādis, the chakra, etc. The *Amṛta-nāda* deals with Yoga and Vairāgya, the *Kshurika* deals with Yoga, the *Tejo-bindu* with Dhyāna, the *Dhyāna-bindu* with Yoga and Praṇava-upāsana. The *Yoga-tattva* deals with Yoga and Jnāna, the *Yogaśikha* with Yoga and Upāsana and the *Yoga-kuṇḍali* with Yoga. However in these Upanishads a striking feature is that Yoga is often mixed up with Vairāgya and Sanyāsa. The two Upanishads of the *Sāma-veda* which deal with Yoga are *Yoga-chūḍāmaṇi* and *Darśana.* The *Sukla-Yajus* Upanishads, *Triśikhi-Brāhmaṇa, Maṇḍala-Brāhmaṇa,* deal also with Yoga. The *Sukla-Yajus* Upanishad, *Advaitatāraka,* deals with Yoga and with the importance of the Guru for upāsana and jnāna.

This phase of thought represented by yoga and its practice must be deemed to have arisen in close association with the growth of the mantra-śāstra and upāsana during the long period of thought evolution in the 20 Upanishads of the *Atharva-veda,* reviewed above.

III

Among the 108 Upanishads, there yet remain seven Upanishads dealing with miscellaneous topics which are associated with and subsidiary to upāsana and mantra-śāstra. Of these seven, 4 belong to the *Sāma-veda,* 2 to the *Atharva-veda* and 1 to the *Krishna-Yajur-veda.* The *Akshamālika Upanishad* of the *Rig-veda* dealt with under mantra-śāstra, refers to the importance of the Japamāla, its characteristics, etc. The *Kālāgni-Rudra-Upanishad* of the *Krishna-Yajur veda* deals with Bhasma, its importance and power, the way to use it, etc. The *Vāsudeva Upanishad* of the *Sāma-veda* deals with Pundra—the mark of the upāsaka; the *Rudrāksha-jābāla* deals with Rudrāksha, its quality, importance, etc. The Jābāla extols Paśupati (Siva) and speaks at length of Rudrāksha, Bhasma, etc. The odd Upanishad of *Sāma-veda,*

known as *Vajra-sūchika* defines a true Brahmin. All these are distinctly Saivite in colour. The two Upanishads of the *Atharva-veda*, which deal with these topics are *Brihad-jābāla* and *Pāśupata-Brāhmaṇa* Upanishads. The *Bhasma-jābālopanishad* also deals with Bhasma, but it has been dealt with under the upāsana Upanishads—as it deals primarily with Siva mantra, Siva-linga pūja, etc.

Brihad-jābālopanishad has eight sections, but it appears that the first six sections promulgated by Kālāgni Rudra to Bhusunde are a bit earlier in origin than the seventh section promulgated by Yajnavalkya to Vaideha-janaka; and the eighth section which recounts the phala of the Upanishad, after the fashion of the later Upanishads.

In the first six sections, we are told about the importance of Vibhūti and of Rudrāksha. Then we are told of the Bhasma-snāna, about Vibhūti-yoga, Bhasma-dhārana, etc. In the seventh section we are told of the Tripundra-vidhi and its phala (*cf.* Vāsudeva Upanishad of *Sāma-veda*). In this seventh section, we have the tenor of the Paurāṇic style. Janaka and Paippalada went to Prajāpati and asked for instructions about Pundra, etc. Paippalada went to Vaikunṭha and asked Vishnu and approached Kālāgni-Rudra who taught the Upanishad. This incident connects this section with the previous six sections which were all taught by Kālāgni-Rudra to Bhusunde. Similarly, Sanat-Kumāra asked Kālāgni-Rudra to instruct him about the wearing of Rudrāksha. Thus the whole Upanishad is unified and the phala of the whole Upanishad is recounted in section VIII. It is called the *Bṛihad-jābāla* to distinguish it from the other jābāla Upanishad of the *Krishna-Yajus* and *Atharva-veda*,—the Rudrāksha-jābāla and the jābāla Upanishads and also to distinguish it from the Bhasma-jābāla Upanishad of the *Atharva-veda*. The contents of this Upanishad might be compared with those of the Kālāgni-Rudra Upanishad of the *Krishna-Yajur-veda*.

The *Paśupati-Brāhmaṇa Upanishad* is a peculiar Atharva-Vedic Upanishad. It deals with Mālika-vidya, the Praṇava, the Triśakti (Rudra = Tamas, Vishnu = Satva, and Brahma =

Râjasa). It speaks of Paśupati (Śiva) as the Yāgakarta and speaks of the conduct of the universal government by God as a yāga or sacrifice, in which Rudra is the yagna-deva, Vishnu is the adhvaryu, Indra, the hota, Devata—the yagnabhuk, etc. It deals with Hamsa and Praṇava and considers them to be equivalent. It glorifies Ahimsa as the greatest Dharma-yāga and ends with a highly advaitic interpretation of Śiva and Maheśvara. This is a grand achievement in the Upanishadic literature of the Saivite school of the modern period.

Conclusion :—

A study of the *Atharva-veda* Upanishads by themselves and by the side of the Upanishads of the other Vedas shows that the simple faith of the original *Atharva-veda* period which consisted in the performance of simple rituals and the chanting of simple hymns to Devatas and their creations in nature in the form of plants, etc., with a view to secure material happiness in life developed gradually into a complicated system of upāsana, mantra-śāstra, yoga, sanyāsa and jnāna during the long period in which the Upanishads were composed and taught by great teachers for the edification of men and for the material, moral and spiritual welfare of the Aryan fraternity. May we still be led by the Light first shed on us by Father Atharva, Rishi Āngiras and Vena, the Supreme Lord of the Universe.

ओं तत्सत्.

108 UPANISHADS

I *Atharva-veda*	II *Sāma-veda*	III *Krishna-Yajur-veda*	IV *Śukla-Yajur-veda*	V *Rig-veda*
I. Brahmavidya Praśna				
Praśna	*Kena*	*Kaṭha*	*Īśāvasya*	*Aitareya*
Muṇḍaka	*Chandogya*	*Taittirīya*	*Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka*	
Māṇḍūkya				
Atharva śikha	Maitrāyani	Brahma	Nirālamba	Kaushitaki
Annapūrṇa	Maitreyi	Amṛta Bindu	Adhyātma	Ātma-Bodha
Ātma		Sarvasāra	Muktika	Nirvāṇa
		Brahma-vidya		
		Śarīraka		
		Avadhūta		
		Varāha		

108 UPANISHADS—(*Contd.*)

I *Atharva-veda*	II *Sāma-veda*	III *Krishna-Yajur-veda*	IV *Śukla-Yajur-veda*	V *Rig-veda*
II. Sanyāsa:— Nārada-Parivrājaka Paramahamsa parivrājaka Parabrahma	Āruṇika Mahā Sanyāsa Kundika	Katha	Paramahamsa Bhikshuka Turīyatītāvadhūta Yajnavalkya. Satyajaniya	..
III. Mantra-śāstra Praśna	..	..	..	Nāda-bindu Aksha-mālika Tripura Mudgala Saubhāgya-Lakshmi. Bahvṛcha
IV. Upāsana.– Atharva-śira Nṛsimha-tāpini Sītā Śarabha Mahā-Nārāyaṇa Rāma-Rahasya Rāma-tāpini Annapūrṇa Sūrya Tripura Devi Bhāvana Bhasmajābāla Gaṇapati Mahā-vākya Gopāla-tāpini Krishna Hayagrīva Dattātreya Garuḍa	Avyakta Sāvitri	Kaivalya Śvētāśvatara Nārāyaṇa Sutra-Rahasya Dakshiṇāmurti Skanda Ekākshara Akshi Rudrahṛdaya Pancha-Brahma Prānāgnihotra Kalisantārana Saraswati-Rahasya	Jābāla Hamsa Subala Mantrika Paingala Tārasāra	
V. Yoga Śāndilya	Yoga-chūḍāmani Darśana	Garbha Amṛta-nāda Kshurika Tejobindu Dhyānabindu Yogatattva Yogaśikha Yoga-kuṇḍali	Triśikha-Brahma Maṇḍala-Brahma Advaita-Tāraka	..
VI. Miscellaneous (anga) Brihad-jābāla Paśupati-Brahma	Vāsudeva Rudrāksha-jābāla Jābāli Vajrasūchya	Kālāgni-Rudra	..	..

Vide Rig-Vediya-Brahma-Karma-Samuchchaya (52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 301 and 302).

Note.—The *Rig-veda* has given a place in its ritualistic code to the following Upanishads of the "Atharva Śirsha".

1. *Nārāyaṇa-Atharva Śīrsha.*—Same as the Nārāyaṇa Upanishad of the *Yajur-veda*, but called "*Atharva-Śīrsha.*"

2. *Śiva-Atharva Śīrsha.*—A new Upanishad, but in part it follows the method of praising a Rudra—adopted in Nṛsimha-tāpini, Rama-tāpini, and Gopala-tāpini Upanishads of the *Atharva-veda* speaking of the Deity in terms of all manifested creation.

3. *Gaṇapati-Atharva Śīrsha.*—Same as the *Gaṇapati* Upanishad of the *Atharva-veda.* (Rig-Vedic Code gives also full instructions for the performance of japa, homa, etc. Sec. 301 and 301.)

4. *Sūryātharva Śīrsha.*—Same as the *Sūryopanishad* of the Atharva-Code.

5. *Devi-Atharva Śīrsha.*—On the model of the *Devi-Upanishad* of the *Atharva-veda.* This Upanishad recounts the "Durga-mantra" given in the *Devi-Upanishad.*

At the end of this Upanishad the phala of the above five Upanishads is recited (सपञ्चाथर्वशीर्ष फलमाप्नोति).

There is, in this, a clear indication of the influence of the earlier *Atharva-veda* and its Upanishads on the *Rig-Vedic* ritualism of the later day.

MUSIC AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS OF THE ANCIENT TAMILS

By N. Chengalvarayan

Introduction

Indian music can be considered under two broad divisions, *viz.*, Hindustani and Karnataka types. In course of time the main stream of musical tradition that originated from Bharata underwent many changes. New influences were brought to bear upon the two branches of the main stream and each acquired a characteristic peculiar to the cultural tradition of its part of the country. North Indian music was subjected to Persian and Arabic influences. But South India, as elsewhere, stands to-day as the custodian of more or less traditional forms. We cannot say absolutely that there was no change whatever, for music has always been a living art, and it is yet so owing to some encouragement it receives from the educated classes. From time to time we find some improvements effected, as no vital art can be static.

What is music ? It is the harmony of sound which unites all beings. It not only contributes to the mental, moral and physical development of man. "As an expression of the emotions music is an international hut." "The music of a nation is an index of its soul."

Further, the art of music arises from a desire for vocal expression of the pent-up emotions. So it has been rightly said that "music is the dance of words and dance is the music of the human limbs".

The subject can be classified under the following heads :—

(1) The greatness of music.
(2) The music of the Tamils.
(3) The different lines of Tamil music.
(4) The musical instruments of the Tamils.

The Greatness of Music

When the greatest classical works of Tamil Literature were produced, the Tamil tongue itself came to be adapted to three main national demands of expression, *viz.*, Poetry, Music and Drama. Evidently music has been considered as the chief grace of both poetry and drama, and scholars of antiquity have given it a central place as the hand-maid of both. This art has had many devotees who have produced worthy literature in glorifying their *Muse.* Monumental works in Tamil are also in verse, and from the beginning their very reading has been taught to be sung in particular strains. As at present music was the *sine qua non* of the dramatic performance to sweeten the intervals between scene and scene.

Further the music on the stage is of peculiar attraction even to the illiterate, while the language and literary graces can appeal only to scholars and cultured minds. Birds are our natural songsters. It is no wonder that they should be attracted by good music. On the other hand, the over-powering influence of music has been observed from the most remote times as having kept spell-bound beasts and birds, reptiles and venomous creatures and rendered them tame under its influence. Tamil poets have spoken of it as having equally moved the animate and inanimate nature.

"Quite an interesting and informing chapter is found in the Tamil classic, *Silappadikāram*, which furnishes us a valuable mine of information on the then extant music and also sheds a welcome light on to what degree musical science had progressed in the old Tamil country. Tamil literature gives the term of *Iśai* (இசை) for music. The Tamilian genius for music is best illustrated by the *Śilappadikāram*, where the whole of Canto III is devoted to various aspects of music. Besides the texts, the commentary throws a flood of light on the details of that science. A number of musical instruments are mentioned as well as the qualifications of a musician and a composer of songs." The musician exhibited his skill either by singing vocally or by playing on instruments like *Vina* and *Flute* or combining both. *Mridangam* (தண்ணுமை) or the soft voiced

drum as it may be called, was a constant equipment in all such performances.

The poet says the flowers in the forest blossom under the hum of the bees, meaning their music stirs the buds to open their petals. The bud that is about to blossom is called *pōdu* (போது) in Tamil (*pōdu*=time). Ascetics and others who lived in the forests knew the time by the blossoming of the flowers. There was a flower called *Naḷḷiruḷ Nāṛi* (நள்ளிருள் நாறி)—the night queen—because it blossomed at midnight. Even when the sun's rays are interrupted by the clouds, these flowers do blossom at the right time; thus they indicated time. Poetically what indicated time has been identified with time itself, and hence it has been spoken of by the term *pōdu*.

"முல்லை வரிவண்டூத வாய்நெகிழ்ந்தனவே"

(*Kuruntokai*—குறுந்தொகை).

Flowers are observed to blossom when the bees hum and evolve their music. It is said that even a cobra is rendered tame if it hears true harmony. In a Tamil classic known as *Kalittokai* (கலித்தொகை)—a Sangam work— it is said that an uncontrollable wild elephant was brought under control by the music of the *vina*.

(1) "காழ்வரை நில்லாக் கடுங்களிற்றொருத்தல்
யாழ்வரைத் தங்கியாங்கு"

(*Kalittokai*—கலித்தொகை).

(2) "அணியிழை மகளிரும் யானையும் வணக்கும்,
மணியொலி வீணையும்"

(*Brihat-kathā*—பெருங்கதை).

(3) "மகரயாழ்வல்ல மைந்தனொருவனைக்
கண்ட மத்தகப் புகர் முகக் களிற்றின்"

(*Meru-mantra Purāṇam*—மேருமந்திர புராணம்).

In *Ahanānūṛu* (அகநானூறு) we find the following:—
"In a field of millet belonging to the Kuṛinji tract (குறிஞ்சி நிலம்) of land, a girl who was sitting to keep watch over the field began to sing in ecstasy the *ragas* (tunes) suited to that tract called *Kuṛinjip-paṇ* (குறிஞ்சிப்பண்). At that time a hungry elephant which came to feed upon the millet crop forgot its

hunger and was kept spell-bound by the sweet music of that maiden.

" ஒலியல்வார் மயிருளரினள் கொடிச்சி,
பெருவரை மருங்கிற் குறிஞ்சிபாடக், குரலுங்
கொள்ளாது நிலையினும் பெயராது, படா அப்
பைங்கண் பாடுபெற்றொய்யென, மாம்புகன்
மழகளிறு றங்கும் நாடன் "

(*Ahanānūṛu*—அகநானூறு).

In the *Brihat-kathā* (பெருங்கதை) which relates the story of Udayana, the hero, controlled a mad wild elephant named *Nalagiri* (நளகிரி) by playing on the *vina*. The elephant so controlled by Udayana is compared to an obedient disciple of a great Guru.

" வீணையெழீஇ வீதியினடப்ப
ஆணை யாசாற் கடியுறை செய்யு,
மாணிபோல் மதக்களிறுபடிய "

(*Brihat-kathā*—பெருங்கதை).

The story of Lord Krishna narrates the fact that cows were enraptured by his music. Lord Krishna as the divine shepherd, while grazing the herds in different places, collected them together by playing exquisitely on his flute.

" ஆக்குவித்தார் குழலரங்கேசர் "

Then the cows from the various parts of the woods gathered together and followed him home. Similar instances are available from *Periya-Purāṇam* (பெரிய புராணம்), a Tamil work which gives an account of the sixty-three Saiva devotees, *i.e.*, Nāyanmars (நாயன்மார்கள்).

There was an animal called *Aśuṇam* (அசுணமா). It was also considered a bird. It was a good judge of music. It danced about in ecstasy, if it heard mellifluous music and swooned away if it heard harsh music.

(1) " இருஞ்சிறைத் தொழுதியார்ப்ப யாழ் செத்து,
இருங்கல் விடரளை யசுணமோர்க்கும் "

(*Ahanānūṛu*—அகநானூறு).

(2) " இன்னளிக்குரல் கேட்ட வசுணமா,
வன்னளாய் மகிழ்வெய்து வித்தயள் "

(*Cintāmaṇi*—சிந்தாமணி).

(3) " யாழ் நறையடுத்த வசுணநன் மாச்செவி,
பறையடுத்ததுபோலும் "

(*Kambar*—கம்பர்).

Those who wanted to catch this bird hid themselves behind the trees and played upon the *vina* ; hearing the music the bird came near enough to be caught.

" அசுணங் கொல்பவர் கைபோனன்றும்,
இன்பமுந் துன்பமு முடைத்தே "

(*Naṟṟiṇai*—நற்றிணை).

There was another bird similar to this known as *Kinnara* (கின்னரப்பறவை).

In rural parts we see even to-day the labourers singing " rural songs " known in Tamil as *Tempāngu* (தெம்பாங்கு) while driving the carts and ploughing the fields with oxen. Even while lulling the children to sleep we see mothers singing " lullabies ".

It is said that hard-hearted highway robbers too forgot sometimes their criminal quest when they heard sweet music. We find some such reference in an old Tamil classic. In the desert regions these highway dacoits waylaid travellers and seized their property. If they found no money about them, they mercilessly killed them and exulted over their achievements. Even the heart of such ruffians was softened by the influence of sweet music.

" ஆறலைக்கள்வர் படை விட வருளின்
மாறுதலைப் பெயர்க்கும் மருவின் பாலை "

(*Porunarāṟṟuppaḍai*, ll. 21–22—பொருநராற்றுப்படை).

In the great Tamil classic known as *Jivaka-Chintamani* (ஜீவக சிந்தாமணி) we find the following :—

There was a beautiful maid known as *Suramanjari* (சுரமஞ்சரி) who had taken a vow not to see the face of any male: *Jivaka* (ஜீவகன்), the hero of this work, went in the guise of an old man and played upon the *vina* so well that she was kept spell-bound and captivated by his sweet voice, offered to marry him.

" கள்ள மூப்பினந்தணன் கனிந்த கீத வீதியே,
வள்ளிவென்ற நுண்ணிடை மழை மலர்த்தடங்கணார்,

புள்ளுவம்ம திம்மகன் புணர்த்த வோசை மேற்புகன்
னுள்ளம் வைத்த மாமயிற் குழாத்தி னேடியெய்தினர்."

Lord Siva is supposed to be the embodiment of music and is very devoted to it.

(1) " இயல், இசை, நாடகம் நின்திறமாம்,
புயலன மிடறுடை புண்ணியனே."

(2) " ஏழிசையா யிசைப்பயனாய் "

(3) " இயலவன், இசையவன் "

(4) " இயலிசைப் பொருள்களாகி "

(5) " ஏழிசையை ", etc.

(*Tevāram*—தேவாரம்).

It is said that enamoured of music God Siva keeps two celestial songsters *Kambala* (கம்பளர்) and *Asvadara* (அசுவதரர்) in the form of ear-rings. It is also said that He has always in His hands the musical instrument *vina* and is called *Vinā-Dakshināmūrti* (வீணாதக்ஷிணாமூர்த்தி).

" எம்மிறை வீணை வாசிக்குமே "

(*Tevāram*—தேவாரம்).

Knowing that music is very pleasing to *Iswara* several Bhaktas have worshipped and adored Him with delightful tunes of music, *e.g.*

Ānāya-nāyanār (ஆனாய நாயனார்),
Tiru-nālaip-pōvār (திருநாளைப்போவார்),
Tiru-Neelakanta-Yālpānar (திருநீலகண்ட யாழ்ப்பாணர்),
Paramanaiyepāduvār (பரமனையே பாடுவார்) etc.

ஆனாய நாயனார் worshipped Him by singing the " Panchākshara mantra " (பஞ்சாட்சர) on the flute.

Another devotee named *Pāṇa-badra* (பாணபத்திரன்), a resident of the famous South Madura, worshipped Him by playing on the *vina*. The deity of the Madura temple, Lord Somasundara, was so enamoured of his devotional music, so that, it is said, He bore the fuel load for His Bhakta and thus made his rivals take to their heels.

The Vaishnava devotees such as *Tiruppāṇālvār* (திருப்பாணாழ்வார்) and others worshipped Vishnu by their delicious music. All the religious poetical works in Tamil consist of verses which require to be sung in a scientific way.

This illumines the fact that the Lord's nature is music in its essence and He pours into His devotees His musical presence. Thus the music which true devotees pour out has a heavenly character, *e.g.*, *Tevāram*, *Tiruvāchakam*, *Divyaprabandham*, *Tiruppugaḻ*, *Tattuvarayaradutturai*, etc.

Now let us pass on to examining how the Tamils developed this fine art cherished by them from time out of memory.

The Music of the Tamils

It is said that in the old Tamil academies known as the Sangams, the poets specialised in the three departments of Tamil known to scholars as *Verse* (இயல்), *Music* (இசை) and *Drama* (நாடகம்). There was a separate musical academy of scholars who were devoting their time solely to the development of music.

"எழிசைச் சுழல்புக்கோ"

(*Tirukkovai*—திருச்சிற்றம்பலக்கோவை).

Some poets of the last Sangam devoted their time to specialisation in music and have left us many musical compositions. To mention a few, there were the following Tamil poets who were great musicians :—

Kaṇṇakanār (கண்ணகனூர்),
Kaṇṇaṇākanār (கண்ணணாகனூர்),
Kesavanār (கேசவனூர்),
Nannākanār (நன்னாகனூர்),
Nallachutanār (நல்லச்சுதனூர்),
Nākanār (நாகனூர்),
Pittāmattar (பித்தாமத்தர்).
Peṭṭakanār (பெட்டகனூர்),
Marutuvanal-achutanār (மருதுவனல்லச்சுதனூர்), etc.

Besides these there was a poet named *Nedumpalliyattanār* (நெடும்பல்லியத்தனூர்), *i.e.*, one well versed in the use of the several musical instruments. This poet has mentioned the names of different musical instruments in his works.

In *Silappadikāram*, a classic of the last Sangam, we get the names of the following works relating to the science of music but which are not now extant :—

Perunārai (பெருநாரை);
Perunkurugu (பெருங்குருகு);
Pancha Bhāratiyam (பஞ்சபாரதீயம்);
Iśai Nuṇukkam (இசைநுணுக்கம்);
Pancha Marabu (பஞ்சமரபு);
Tāla Samudram (தாள சமுத்திரம்);
Kacchapuda Veṇbā (கச்சபுட வெண்பா);
Indira Kāḷiyam (இந்திரகாளியம்);
Padināṛupadalam (பதினறுபடலம்);
Tālavakaiyōttu (தாளவகையோத்து);
Iśaittamiḻ-seyyuṭkovai (இசைத்தமிழ்ச்செய்யுட்கோவை).

The mention of these old books is itself a sufficient proof of the antiquity of the science and its wide culture. *Suddānanda prakāsam* (சுத்தானந்த பிரகாசம்), a later work, is also a treatise on music. *Silappadikāram* (சிலப்பதிகாரம்), *Cintāmaṇi* (சிந்தாமணி), *Chudāmaṇi* (சூடாமணி), *Kallāḍam* (கல்லாடம்), *Tiruvadala-vāyudaiyār Tiruvilaiyādal Purāṇam* (திருவடல வாயுடையார் திருவிளையாடல் புராணம்), *Tiruvilaiyādal Purāṇam* (திருவிளையாடல் புராணம்), the works of *Ativīrarāmapāndya* (அதிவீரராமபாண்டியன்)—all these furnish much information on the art.

The Different Lines of Tamil Music

Tiṛan (திறன்) and *Paṇ* (பண்) are the two divisions of Tamil music. *Paṇ* is literally harmony and the kind of music called *Paṇ* is accompanied by playing on an instrument which has seven strings representing the svaras (notes). The tune of the song which consisted of these seven svaras was called *Sampūrṇarāga* (சம்பூர்ணராகம்) or *Melakarta ragas* which was called the *Paṇ*. These seven svaras are named in Sanskrit as *Sadja* (ஷட்ஜம்), *Rishaba* (ரிஷபம்), *Gāndhāra* (காந்தாரம்), *Madhyama* (மத்தியமம்), *Panchama* (பஞ்சமம்), *Daivata* (தைவதம்), and *Nishāda* (நிஷாதம்). The Tamils named them as the *Kural* (குரல்), *Tuttam* (துத்தம்), *Kaikkiḷai* (கைக்கிளை), *Uḻai* (உழை), *Iḷi* (இளி), *Viḷari* (விளரி) and *Tāram* (தாரம்) respectively.

The modern notation for these svaras is *Sa*, *Ri*, *Ga*, *Ma*, *Pa*, *Da*, *Ni* (ச, ரி, க, ம, ப, த, நி) and the ancient Tamils used the seven long vowels (ஆ, ஈ, ஊ, ஏ, ஐ, ஓ, ஔ) of the Tamil

alphabet to denote these svaras and perhaps the Tamilian thinkers thought it more natural to denote them by the long and open vowels. The *Paṇ* was also known as *Janakarāga* (ஜனகராகம்). The *Tiṛan* (திறன்) is the offshoot of the above. It is now called as *Janyarāgam* (ஜன்யராகம்).

In the Tamil work known as *Yāppilakkaṇam* (யாப்பிலக்கணம்) which deals with the different kinds of the tunes of music, we have an informing description. The Tamils have calculated the tunes of music as 11,991. These must be a combination of *Paṇ* and *Tiṛan*.

Paṇ consists of many kinds. They are *Kuṛinji* (குறிஞ்சி), *Pālai* (பாலை), *Mullai* (முல்லை), *Marudam* (மருதம்), and *Neidal* (நெய்தல்). These are called the five big Paṇs. These in their turn have several sub-divisions: The day-Paṇ, the Paṇ suited to a particular time, the night-Paṇ, Paṇ suited to the tastes of individuals, Paṇ suited to the caste or religion, etc. The day-Paṇ consists of twelve kinds such as *Puṛa-nīrmai* (புறநீர்மை), etc. The night-Paṇ consists of nine kinds such as *Takkarāgam* (தக்கராகம்) etc. *Sevvaḻi* (செவ்வழி) and two others are common for all times. The morning Paṇ is called *Marudam* (மருதம்), the evening Paṇ is called *Sevvaḻi* (செவ்வழி). Through these Paṇs expert musicians have symbolically expressed some valuable thoughts. It is observed in a Tamil work that a gentleman who was eagerly expecting a friend in the evening, sang the evening Paṇ as the vehicle of his invitation.

The Paṇ that evokes pity is called *Viḷari* (விளரி-இரங்கற்பண்). Several poets have evoked the sympathy of listeners by singing this Paṇ. Ravana, who was caught under the mount Kailas, when crushed by the Lord Iswara, sang this Paṇ and thus gained the sympathy of the God.

Some poets are observed to have sung only such songs as were full of sonorous and majestic diction.

"பண்ணென்னும் பாடற்கியை பின்றேல்"

(*Kuṛaḷ*—குறள்).

These sweet and melodious compositions were again called as *Uru* (உரு) and *Vari* (வரி). Some are of opinion that the *Uru* falls into ten divisions. They are :—

Senduṛai (செந்துறை), *Veṇduṛai* (வெண்துறை), *Perun-devapāṇi* (பெருந்தேவபாணி), *Sirudevapāṇi* (சிறுதேவபாணி), *Muttakam* (முத்தகம்), *Peruvaṇṇam* (பெருவண்ணம்), *Aṟṟuvari* (ஆற்றுவரி), *Kānalvari* (கானல்வரி), *Virimuran* (விரிமுரண்), *Talaipokumaṇḍilam* (தலைபோகு மண்டிலம்), etc.

The songs sung measured by tàla (தாளம்) have been divided into nine kinds. They are :—*Sindu* (சிந்து), *Tiripadai* (திரிபதை), *Savalai* (சவலை), *Samapāda viruttam* (சமபாத விருத்தம்), *Senduṛai* (செந்துறை), *Veṇduṛai* (வெண்துறை), *Perun-devapāṇi* (பெருந்தேவபாணி), *Sirudevapāṇi* (சிறுதேவபாணி), etc.

In addition to the above, there was another kind called *Gandharva mārga* (காந்தர்வமார்க்கம்). Gandharva Sāśtra is a name given to this science by the northern people.

The wry motions and twitches of the face and the other parts of the body which a singer has to avoid to produce an agreeable effect on the audience are enumerated as follows :—

(1) The contracting of the stomach.
(2) Putting on a plaintive or weeping expression.
(3) Raising the eyebrows.
(4) Shaking the head.
(5) Moving the eyes.
(6) Swelling the neck.
(7) Gaping.
(8) Showing the teeth.

“வயிறது குழியவாங்கல் அழுமுகங் காட்டல்,
வாங்குஞ், செயிராறு புருவமேறல் சிரநடுக்குறல்
கண்ணாடல், பயிறகு மிடறு வீங்கல் பையென
வாயங்காத்தல், எயிறது காட்டலின்னவுடற்
றொழில் குற்றமென்ப ”

(*Tiruviḷaiyādal Purāṇam*—திருவிளையாடல் புராணம்).

Even expert musicians are not quite free from these shortcomings. The reason is they do not correct themselves in the earlier stages.

The Musical Instruments

These are of three kinds, *viz.*, *Gitānga* (கீதாங்கம்), *Niruttānga* (நிருத்தாங்கம்) and *Ubhayānga* (உபயாங்கம்). *Gitānga* can be used as accompaniments for vocal music,

Niruttānga for the dance alone, and *Ubhayānga* was used in accompaniment to both. A musical performance may consist of (1) singing, (2) playing on instruments, and (3) both. In the Sangam literature mention is made of various musical instruments and they are collectively denoted by the term *Iśaik-karuvi* (இசைக்கருவி). "Chiefly four kinds of instruments are distinguished—*Torkaruvi* (தோற்கருவி) made of leather, *Tuḷaik-karuvi* (துளைக்கருவி) provided with holes, *Narambuk-karuvi* (நரம்புக்கருவி) or stringed instruments, and *Midaṟṟuk-karuvi* (மிடற்றுக்கருவி) or throat instruments." The throat instruments may be conceived to be the flute, reed, and possibly tambourine may also be included in the category as it simply helps the vocal music.

The flute was the important wind instrument used by the ancient Tamils. It presents certain differences in make and the materials used. "The commentator of *Silappadikāram* distinguishes five kinds of flute according to the materials with which it was made. It was made of bamboo, sandalwood, bronze and ebony"; of these, that of the bamboo is the best.

" ஆடமைக்குயின்ற வவிர்துளை மருங்கிற்
கோடையவ்வளி குழலிசையாகப் பாடின்
னருவிப் பனிநீரின்னிசைத், தோடமை
முழவின்றுதை குரலாக "

(*Ahanānūru*—அகநானூறு).

Because it was made of bamboo it took the name of *Pullānkuḻal* (புல்லாங்குழல்) in Tamil. *Vankiam* (வங்கியம்) is another name for the flute. The flute was considered as an important instrument, for it is quite easy and natural to handle.

(1) " குழல் வழிநின்றதியாழே யாழ்வழி,
தண்ணுமை நின்றது தகவே தண்ணுமைப்
பின்வழி நின்றது முழவே,
முழவொடு கூடி நின்றிசைத்த தாமந்திரகை."

(*Silappadikāram*—சிலப்பதிகாரம்).

(2) " குழலினிது, யாழினிது என்பர், மக்கள்தம்
மழலைச் சொற்கேளாதவர் "

(*Kuṛaḷ*—குறள்).

"In the flute seven holes are made for the seven svaras:— *Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma, Pa, Da, Ni* and seven fingers are pressed into service when playing the flute. The seven fingers are three of the left hand leaving out the thumb and the small finger and four of the right hand leaving out the thumb."

In Tamil literature mention is made of different flutes such as *Konṟaiyankuḻal* (கொன்றையங்குழல்), *Ambalantīnkuḻal* (ஆம்பலந்தீங்குழல்) and *Mullaiyankuḻal* (முல்லையங்குழல்), etc.

Similarly, there have been differences in the *vina, i.e., Yāḻ* (யாழ்). It is a stringed instrument and occupies a prominent place among the stringed instruments and is of different kinds.

There was an instrument called *Pēriyāḻ* (பேரியாழ்) which consisted of 21 strings. *Makarayāḻ* (மகரயாழ்), another instrument, consisted of 19 strings and *Sakoḍayāḻ* (சகோடயாழ்) consisted of 14 strings. The seven-stringed *yāḻ* was called the *Senkottiyāḻ* (செங்கோட்டியாழ்). It is also said that there was another *yāḻ* known as *Ādi-yāḻ* (ஆதியாழ்) or *Perunkalan* (பெருங்கலன்) which consisted of 1,000 strings. The excellent features, as well as the defects, and how to handle these etc., are minutely described in the Tamil works. A good description of the *vina* is to be founa from *Porunarāṟṟup-padai* (பொருநராற்றுப்படை), lines 4–18 and the *Perumpāṇāṟṟup-padai* (பெரும்பாணாற்றுப்படை), lines 4–16:

"குளப்பு வழியன்ன கவடுபடு பத்தல்
விளக்கழ லுருவின் விசியுறு பச்சை
யெய்யா விளஞ்சூற் செய்யோ ளவ்வயிற்
றைதுமயி ரொழிகிய தோற்றம் போலப்
பொல்லம் பொத்திய பொதியுறு போர்வை
யளைவா ழலவன் கண் கண்டன்ன
துளைவாய் தூர்ந்த துரப்பமை யாணி
யெண்ணாட் டிங்கள் வடிவிற்றாகி
யண்ணா வில்லா வமைவடு வறு வாய்ப்
பாம் பணந் தன்ன வோங்கிருமருப்பின்
மாயோண் முன்கை யாய்தொடி கடுக்குங்
கண்கூ டிருக்கைத் திண்பிணித் திவவி
னாய்தினை யரிசி யவையலன்ன

வேய்வை போகிய விரலுளர் நரம்பிற்
கேள்வி போகிய நீள் விசித்தொடையன்"
(*Porunarāṛṛup-padai*—பொருநராற்றுப்படை, ll. 4–18).

"பாசிலை யொழித்த பராஅரைப் பாதிரி
வள்ளிதழ் மாமலர் வயிற்றிடை வகுத்தத
னுள்ளகம் புரையு மூட்டுறு பச்சைப்
பரியரைக் கமுகின் பாளையம் பசும்பூக்
கருவருந் தன்ன கண்கூடு செறிதுளை
யுருக்கி யன்ன பொருத்துறு போர்வைச்
சுனைவறந் தன்ன பின்னேந்து கவைக்கடை
நெடும்பணைத் திரடோண் மடந்தை முன்கைக்
குறுந்தொடி யேய்க்கு மெலிந்து வீங்குதிவவின்
மணிவார்ந் தன்ன மாயிரு மருப்பிற்
பொன்வார்ந்தன்ன புரியடங்கு நரம்பின்
றொடையமை கேள்வி யிடவயிற்றழீஇ"
(*Perumpāṇāṛṛup-padai*—பெரும்பாணாற்றுப்படை, ll. 4–16).

The following is the list of drums (leather instruments)—culled from *Silappadikāram*, a classic of the second century A.D.—which were accompaniments for any performance :—

(1) *Pērikai* (பேரிகை)—A variety of kettle drum.
(2) *Paḍakam* (படகம்)—Tom-tom.
(3) *Iḍakkai* (இடக்கை)—A double-headed drum.
(4) *Maddaḷam* (மத்தளம்)—A kind of drum.
(5) *Uḍukkai* (உடுக்கை)—A hand drum like the hour-glass
(6) *Sallikai* (சல்லிகை)—A kind of large drum.
(7) *Karaḍikai* (கரடிகை)—A kind of drum.
(8) *Timilai* (திமிலை)—The drum of fisherman.
(9) *Kuḍamuḷa* (குடமுழா)—An earthern-ware drum.
(10) *Takkai* (தக்கை)—Tabour.
(11) *Gaṇapparai* (கணப்பறை)—A kind of drum.
(12) *Tamarukam* (தமருகம்)—A little drum.
(13) *Taṇṇumai* (தண்ணுமை)—A kind of drum.
(14) *Tadāri* (தடாரி)— ,,
(15) *Andari* (அந்தரி)— ,,
(16) *Muḷavu* (முழவு)—A drum in general.
(17) *Chandravalayam* (சந்திரவளையம்)—A kind of drum.

(18) *Mondai* (மொந்தை)—A drum open at an end.
(19) *Murasu* (முரசு)—A variety of kettle drum.
(20) *Kaṇ-viḍu-tumbu* (கண்விடு தும்பு)—A kind of drum.
(21) *Niśāḷam* (நிசாளம்)—One-headed drum.
(22) *Tudumai* (துடுமை)—A kind of drum.
(23) *Siruparai* (சிறுபறை)—A small drum.
(24) *Aḍakkam* (அடக்கம்)—A kind of drum.
(25) *Takuṇiccham* (தகுணிச்சம்)—,,
(26) *Viraleru* (விரலேறு)— ,,
(27) *Pākam* (பாகம்)— ,,
(28) *Upānkam* (உபாங்கம்)— ,,
(29) *Nāḻigai* (நாழிகை)— ,,
(30) *Parai* (பறை)—The big drum.
(31) *Tudi* (துடி)—A small drum tapering from each end, forming a small neck in the centre.

A drum was called *maddaḷam* (மத்தளம்) on account of the peculiar sound it produced. Another was called *karadikai* (கரடிகை) which sounded like the voice of the bear (*Karadi*—Bear). Thus we see that each instrument had a significant name. Besides the above, there were the following other instruments such as *Ākuḻi* (ஆகுழி), *Pāṇḍil* (பாண்டில்), *Koḍu* (கோடு), *Neḍuvankiam* (நெடுவங்கியம்), *Kuruntumbu* (குறுந்தூம்பு), *Taṭṭaip-parai* (தட்டைப்பறை), *Padalai* (பதலை), etc. Probably all these were made of leather.

"Peculiar and special measures were marked as befitted the different occasions, such as war music, marriage music, music connected with dance, secular and religious, singing associated with festivals, with death, etc."

There was a particular community of bards of both sexes known as *Pāṇar* (பாணர்) and *Viṛalis* (விறலிகள்) who were well trained in the use of the above-mentioned instruments and were also good professional singers and musicians. As the Tamil kings of old were patrons of music, the bards were given to singing the glories of the kings and other chiefs and nobles and thus got prizes and medals for the display of their skill.

"தண் கடல் வரைப்பிற் றுங்குநர் ப்பெருது
பொழி மழை துறந்த புகைவேய் குன்றத்துப்
பழு மாங் தேரும் பறவை போலக்
கல் லென் சுற்ற மொடு கால்கிளர்ந்து திரிதரும்
புல் லென் யாக்கைப் புலவுவாய்ப் பாண"

(*Perumpāṇāṟṟup-padai*—பெரும்பாணாற்றுப்படை, ll. 18–22).

These singers may be compared to the minstrels or war-bards. They were known as *Perumpāṇar* (பெரும்பாணர்), *Sirupāṇar* (சிறுபாணர்), *Porunar* (பொருநர்), *Kūttar* (கூத்தர்), etc. In *Malaipadukadām* (மலைபடுகடாம்), a classic of the last Sangam, reference is made to these minstrels as carrying several instruments and they are compared to jack-trees studded with fruits.

"நொடிதரு பாணிய பதலையும் பிறவுங்
கார்கோட் பலவின் காய்த்துணர் கடுப்ப"

(*Malaipadukadām*—மலைபடுகடாம், ll. 11–12).

To take a general view in the light of *Silappadikāram* :—

The songster must possess the genius and culture to study the shades of svaras and evolve new combinations or tunes and thus expand the sphere of his music. And such a genius alone can keep the indigenous art unpolluted by anything foreign. His band also should consist of drummers and others versed in the science of Bharata—the art of dancing and its accompaniments. This art is further distinguished as the Royal Art (வேத்தியல்) and the art of the populace (பொதுவியல்).

The skill and attainments of the *drummer*, of the *flutist* and the *vina* player are elaborately explained. The drummer has to adjust his performance to that of the songster so that the latter might not feel inconvenienced by loss of concord and the performance as a whole might not jar on the ears of the audience. He has to be specially careful to secure perfect concord by regulating the pitch of his beatings so that the sound of the drum is one with the voice of the songster in its rise and fall. The flutist is an expert in what is known as *cittirap-puṇarppu* (சித்திரப்புணர்ப்பு) and this is characterised by the special feature of nasalising the hard consonants in singing a musical piece. The use of his fingers on this instrument

must be such as to display perfect training and grasps of the principles of music.

The terminology adopted in the Tamil literature to distinguish the numerous subtleties in the performance of the *vina* has to be admitted to be really significant and even descriptive ; still it passes the possibility of being rendered into another language. Of the fourteen *pālais* or tunes connected with this, skill consists in bringing into play all the seven notes in producing a tune.

For the sake of producing these varieties certain adjustments are necessary, "(1) four pertaining to the key, (2) seven of equality, *viz.*, neither low nor high, and (3) three of high pitch". From a study of this chapter one cannot but note that in the days of *Silappadikāram* the instruments of music that had the highest recognition were the *vina* and the *flute*, while the excellence of the vocal music held its own.

The Drummer—(தண்ணுமையோனமைதி) :—

"ஆடல் பாட லிசையே தமிழே
பண்ணே பாணி தூக்கே முடமே
தேசிக மென்றிவை யாசி னுணர்ந்து
கூடை நிலத்தைக் குறைவின்று மிகுத்தாங்கு
வார நிலத்தை வாங்குபு வாங்கி
வாங்கிய வாரத் தியாழுங் குழலு
மேங்கிய மிடறு மிசைவன கேட்பக்
கூருகிர்க் கரணங் குறியறிந்து சேர்த்தி
யாக்கலு மடக்கலு மீத்திறம் படாமைச்
சித்திரக் கரணர் சிதைவின்று செலுத்து
மத்தகு தண்ணுமை யருந்தொழின் முதல்வனும்."

The Flutist—(குழலோனமைதி) :—

"சொல்லிய வியல்பிற் சித்திர வஞ்சனை
புல்லிய வறிந்து புணர்ப்போன் பண்பின்
வர்த்தனை நான்கு மயலறப் பெய்தாங்
கேற்றிய குரலிளி யென்றிரு நரம்பி
னொப்பக் கேட்டு முணர்வின னாகிப்
பண்ணமை முழவின் கண்ணெறி யறிந்து
தண்ணுமை முதல்வன் றன்னொடும் பொருந்தி

வண்ணப் பட்டடை யாழ்மேல் வைத்தாங்
கிசையோன் பாடிய விசையி னியற்கை
வந்தது வளர்த்து வடுவ தொற்றி
யின்புற வியக்கி யிசைபட வைத்து
வார நிலத்தைக் கேடின்று பார்த்தாங்
கீர நிலத்தி னெழுத்தெழுத் தாக
வழுவின் றிசைக்குங் குழலோன் றானும்."

The Vina-Player—(யாழாசிரியனமைதி) :—

" ஈரேழ் தொடுத்த செம்முறைக் கேள்வியி
னோரேழ் பாலை நிறுத்தல் வேண்டி
வன்மையிற் கிடந்த தார பாகமு
மென்மையிற் கிடந்த குரலின் பாகமு
மெய்க்கிளை நரம்பிற் கைக்கிளை கொள்ளக்
கைக்கிளை யொழிந்த பாகமும் பொற்புடைத்
தளராத் தாரம் விளரிக் கீத்துக்
கிளைவழிப் பட்டன ளாங்கே கிளையுந்
தன்கிளை யழிவுகண் டவள்வயிற் சேர
வேனை மகளிருங் கிளைவழிச் சேர
மேல துழையிளி கீழது கைக்கிளை
வம்புறு மரபிற் செம்பாலை யாய
திறுதி யாதி யாக வாங்கவை
பெறுமுறை வந்த பெற்றி னீங்காது
படுமலை செவ்வழி யரும்பாலை யெனக்
குரல் குரலாகத் தற்கிழமை திரிந்தபின்
முன்னதன் வகையே முறைமையிற் றிரிந்தாங்
கிளி முதலாகிய வெதிர்படு கிழமையுங்
கோடி விளரி மேற் செம் பாலையென
நீடிக் கிடந்த கேள்விக் கிடக்கையி
னிணை நரம் புடையன வணைவுறக் கொண்டாங்
கியாழ் மேற்பாலை யிடமுறை மெலியக்
குழன் மேற்கோடி வலமுறை மெலிய
வலிவு மெலிவுஞ் சமனு மெல்லாம்
பொலியக் கோத்த புலமை யோனும்."

(*Silappadikāram*—சிலப்பதிகாரம், அரங்கேற்று காதை, ll. 45-94.)

The foregoing is a brief sketch of the music and musical instruments of the ancient Tamils as gathered from the classics. The numerous and elaborate references and descriptions bearing on the science of music and musical instruments in the Tamil classics of admitted antiquity cannot but make the reader believe that it had its birth, growth and development in a remarkable manner among the people of the land. I may express a wish in conclusion that the universally interesting character of music may induce men of vast and versatile powers to make a comparative study of the science as it prevailed in various parts of the civilized world.

DRAVIDIC SANDHI

By L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar, M.A., B.L.

(*Continued from Vol. XXV, No. 4, p. 270*)

I

Vowels and Vowels

Tamil

The vowels that occur in Tamil in final positions[4] are *a*, *â*, *i*, *î*, *u*, *û*, *e*, *ê*, *o*, *ô*, *ա*, and the diphthongs *ai* and *au*; while in initial positions, all the above sounds except *ա* are met with. [Sûtras 59, 69, 70 of Tol., E̤l. and N, 102 and 107].

(1) Final *ա* of Tamil, described as *kut'ṯ'riyal-ugaram* (shortened *u*) and possessing the sound-value of an unrounded *u* with the lips more or less spread out and the tongue lying flat on the lower surface of the mouth is elided altogether in Tamil when it meets the initial vowel of a following word within pause limits in prose and verse-units in poetry.

The occurrence of this *ա* is described in TE, 36, 407 and N, 94. It appears finally after the plosives (or the affricates) of forms having more than two syllables and of dissyllabic forms when these have long base-vowels:

âṟա (river), *âḍա* (sheep), etc., described as *neḍit'ṯ'roḍar*;

eḥgա (steel, etc.), *kaḥcա* (measure of weight), etc., which are *âyda-t-toḍar*;

kayiṟա (rope), *iruppadա* (that which exists), etc., which are *uyir-t-toḍar*;

kokkա (stork), *pattա* (ten), etc., which are cases of *vand'-roḍar* where the final plosive is preceded by another plosive;

ambա (arrow), *kand'ṟա* (calf), etc., which are cases of *mend'roḍar* in which the plosive is preceded immediately by a nasal;

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4 Short *e* is rare in Tamil, occurring as it does only in poetic forms like *cêe*; short *o* exists only in *no*; *au* as a final is found only in literary *kau* and *vau*.

koydu͡ (having reaped), *telgu͡* (flea), etc., which are *iḍai-t-toḍar* in which the plosive is immediately preceded by the *iḍai-y-eḻuttu*, *viz.*, *y*, *r*, *l*, *ḷ*.

The sound occurs, according to the grammatical tradition only after the plosives (including *ṟ* and *c* which are always classified as plosives), so much so that in forms like *aḷavu* (measurement) or *puṟavu* (dove), the sound cannot be *u͡* but only *u*. In all dissyllabic words with a short basic vowel whether immediately followed by short plosives or other short consonants, the final vowel is *u* or *mut't'riyal-ugaram*, as in *puḻu* (worm), *naḍu* (middle), *adu* (that), etc.

The indigenous grammarians are quite definite about the distinction between the contexts where *u* should occur and those where *u͡* is prescribed. The distinction is important in the literary dialect in *sandhi*. But in the colloquial, the sound *u͡* has become more widespread, and in actual evaluation the colloquial uses *u͡* for all *u-garam* sounds except in a few dissyllabic words like *puḻu* (worm), *kośu* (mosquito) in which the *mut't'riyal ugaram* or full *u* is preserved as the final on account of the influence of the rounded vowels preceding. *Adu* (that), *idu* (this), *naḍu* (middle), *viḍu* (leave off !), etc. are evaluated in the colloquial as *adu͡*, *idu͡*, *naḍu͡*, *viḍu͡*, etc. It will be seen below that *adu*, *idu* also began to behave in literary Tamil like *adu͡*, *idu͡* from an early period, though the older condition is also reflected in some *sandhi* contexts in the texts.

In literary *sandhi*, *u͡* is elided[5] before another following vowel, while *mut't'riyal-ugaram u* does not suffer this elision.

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[5] In comparatively late texts, there exist instances where *u͡* is preserved before a following vowel; commentators cite the following instances :—

tan mugam âga-i-tân aḻaipadu͡-v̆-ê ; and *aḍitt-aḍittu͡-v̆-akkâramunṟ-it't'riya*......where *u͡* is preserved and is followed by a dorsal glide -*v̆*- before following vowels. Such instances are extremely rare in the classical texts.

Commentators observe that N, 164 provides for such exceptional instances by using the word *ôḍum* [uyir varin u-k-kuṟaṉ-mey-viṭṭ-ôḍum] ; but I do not know if the use of *ôḍum* can imply this variation from the general rule.

The general rule of the non-elision of *mut'ṭ'riyal-ugaram* [=fully rounded *u*] is subject to the following exceptions:

(*a*) *adu, idu, udu* often lose their finals in comparatively late texts before vowels following, *e.g.*, *ad-ennâ* in Kamba Rām.

In the colloquial, these words are evaluated with a final -*ա*, before consonants following; and before vowels, this -*ա* is mostly elided within pauses; as in *ad-ârա* (who is that?), *ad-iṅge-y̆-illai* (it is not here). Before the samuccaya -*um* and the particle -*ê*, one hears in the colloquial *ad-um* beside *adu-v̆-um*; *id-ê, idu-v̆-ê*.

According to strict grammatical rules, *adu, idu,* [*udu*] should have a fully rounded -*u*; and in vocalic *sandhi*, the final sound is not elided in the oldest literary texts: *adu-v̆-ê* [P, 78; PP, III, 199], *adu-v̆-and'rա, idu-v̆-um,* etc. But even in the oldest texts, the "oblique" bases of *adu, idu, udu* are *ad-an-, id-an-, ud-an-*, according to TE, 177; here the final -*u* is elided before the *śâriyai -an-*. This would indicate that even at the earliest known stage of Tamil, the final -*u* of these words had begun to lose the individuality of the non-elidable -*u*. This fact is further illustrated by TE, 258 which prescribes that surds are *not* doubled after *adu, idu*, though the general rule [TE, 255] is that after a *mut'ṭ'riyal-ugaram u*, surds are geminated both in *vêt'ṭ'rumai* and in *alvaḻi*. The weakening of the individuality of -*u* in *adu, idu* may therefore have started very early.

(*b*) Forms like *puṟavu* (dove), *naṟavu* (toddy), *aḷavu* (measurement), according to the rule regarding final *u* and *ա*, have a fully rounded -*u*; but before vowels following, this *u* is invariably elided even in the most ancient texts, as in *koḍuñjelav-eḻili* [PP, 10, l. 5]. N, 164 makes a special provision for this elision [*mut'ṭ'rum-at'ṭ'r-ôrôvaḻi*].

(*c*) *oru* (one), the numeral adjective loses its -*u* [TE, 464] in *or-âyiram* beside *ôr-âyiram*.

The final -*u* here was perhaps not organic in as much as (*i*) the general rule [TE, 479] of *sandhi* before vowels requires the lengthening of *o*, as in -*ôr-âḍai*; and (*ii*) *or-* appears without a vocalic final in Kannaḍa compounds like *or-kaṭṭu*.

It will be seen later that in vocalic *sandhi* action the *kut't'riyalugaram ɯ* of Tamil corresponds to the elidable *ə* (or *ɯ*) of Mal., to the elidable *-u* of Kannada and to *-ɯ* (or *-u* in some contexts) of Tuḷu, while the *mut't'riyalugaram u* of Tamil, generally speaking, answers to a non-elidable *-u* of Mal., Kann. and Tuḷu. Literary Tamil, Mal., and to a certain extent Tuḷu also distinguish the two in sound-evaluation, while Kann. gives the value of a rounded *u* to both the elidable and the non-elidable sounds :—

Elidable sound	Non-elidable sound
Lit. Tam. *-ɯ*	Tam. *-u*
Mal. *-ə*[6]	Mal. *-u*
Tuḷu *-ɯ*	Tuḷu *-u*
Kann. *-u*	Kann. *-u*

The non-elidable sound in all these speeches occurs as the final in dissyllabic words with short vowels and short consonants.

(2) Final vowels other than *ɯ* do not (largely speaking) suffer elision when meeting other vowels ; on the other hand, in such cases a vocalic glide, the character of which would depend upon that of the first of the meeting vowels, is inserted to bridge over the hiatus in all combinative contexts.

I have discussed these glides at length in my paper on "Dravidic Glides," contributed to the G. V. Ramamurti Commemoration Volume.

(3) A few cases of optional elision of the first of the meeting vowels are met with in literary usage, though not provided for by the grammars :—

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[6] The difference in sound-value and in vocalic *sandhi* action between the elidable *samvṛta ə* and the non-elidable *-u* of Mal. is well recognized and explained in the fourteenth century grammar, Lîl. III, 5, vyâkhyâ :—ukâraḥ tu ardhamâtrikaḥ. yaḥ *kut't'riyalugara* iti pâṇḍyair bhaṇyate. ato nâsya sphuṭam pratibhâsaḥ. *maṛu* ityâdau ukârântwapekṣa tasya na lopaḥ. ekamâtrikatwât. na khalu maṛu ityucyamâne ukâra pratibhâsaḥ yathâ *adə* ityatra.

(*i*) Final *-a* of optatives like *vâḻga* (may one prosper !) is optionally elided in ancient Tamil:

śelg-ena—PN, 83; PP, II, 177.
oḻig-ena—Ś, Nâḍ., 164.
kaḷaig-ena—M, Aḍ., 67.

Instances where the elision is absent are also available:—

vâḻga-v̆-avan kaṇṇi—[P, 20]
vaḷaṅguga-v̆-aḍuppē—[P, 18]
pâruga-v̆-end're—[Ś. Nâḍ., 164]
nīṅguga-v̆-end'râṅgu—[M, Aḍ., 69]
peṛuga-v̆-îṅgu—[Ś, X, 244]

(*ii*) In colloquial Tamil *-a* of the relative participle is lost in the familiar compounds *piṛand-âm* ('the house where one was born' the parents' house of the daughter-in-law), *pukk-âm* ('the house to which one goes' the husband's house of the daughter-in-law).

Elision of *-a* also occurs in the following:—*and-âm* (that house), *and-aṇḍai* (that side), *and-accu* (that type) in which *-a* of *anda* (that) is elided; *śinn-aṇṇa* (the younger among the elder brothers), *periy-appa* (elder uncle), *veḷḷ-ânai* (white elephant).

In rapid colloquial enunciation, one hears *elirku* for *eli-y-irukku*, *pôneḍam* for *pôna-v̆-iḍam* (the place to which one went), *eṅg-eṅge* for *eṅgê-y̆-eṅgê*, etc.

On the whole, elision of vowels in vocalic junction in literary Tamil is very limited. Except in connection with *-u* and with the other instances in literary Tamil mentioned above, the tendency of literary Tamil is to set its face against elision, and herein perhaps it preserves the genius of the parent speech unaltered in the main.

Malayâḷam.

According to Lîlâtilakam (III, 1, vyâkhyâ), the vowels *a*, *â*, *i*, *î*, *u*, *û*, *e*, *ê*, *o*, *ô*, and the diphthong *ai* occur in Mal. in initial positions, while finally all the above sounds except

short *o* and except the diphthongs *ai* and *au*, are met with ;[7] further, *ə* (a sound corresponding to the Tamil *kut't'riyal-ugaram* ஶ) also occurs in final positions.

1. The Mal. sound *ə*, described as *samvṛta* [L, III, 1], besides occurring in all those positions in which the corresponding Tamil sound ஶ is found, is allowed as a final sound in Mal. in the following contexts:

(*i*) Optionally in connection with final *l*, *ḷ*, *n*, *ṇ* and *r* [L, III, 24], (except in intimate compounds) in instances like *kaṇṇə* (beside *kaṇ* 'eye'), *kallə* (beside *kal* 'stone'), *ponnə* (beside *pon* 'gold') in which the final *l*, *ḷ*, *n*, *ṇ* appear doubled after the short radical vowel of dissyllabic words, in instances like *viralə* (beside *viral* 'finger'), *curuḷə* (beside *curuḷ* 'curl'), where the words have more than two syllables, and in words like *ârə* (beside *âr* 'who ?'), *kâlə* (beside *kâl* 'leg') with long basic vowels followed by short *l*, *r*, etc.[8]

It has to be observed that while Tamil grammars do not recognize the use in literary compositions of the final ஶ after

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[7] It is interesting in this connection to note the differences between Tamil and Mal. in this respect :—

(1) *-ai* does not occur finally in Mal. Tam. *-ai* is replaced in Mal. by (*i*) *-a* in noun-bases like *tala* (head), *maḻa* (rain), (*ii*) *-e* in accusatives like *avan-e* [Tam. *avan-ai*] ; *cf.* colloquial Tam. accusative ending *-e* < *-ai*.

(2) Short *o* is absent in Mal. Even in Tam. it occurs only in *no*.

(3) *-au* is absent in Mal.; even in Tamil it is met with only in *kau-* (to bite) and *vau-* (to pillage).

(4) Mal. *samvṛta* has the value of *ə* in some contexts. For this, see below.

(5) Final *â*, *u*, *û*, *ô* have optionally incorporated the dorsal off-glide, as in *mâvə*, *mâ* (mango-tree); *puḻu-v̆-ə*, *puḻu* (worm); *pû-v-ə*, *pû* (flower); *gô-v̆-ə*, *gô* (Skt. 'cow'). This off-glide has been discussed by me in my "Dravidic Glides".

[8] In the colloquial, the enunciative is embodied almost always (except in intimate compounds) before pauses and consonants in words like *kaṇṇə*, *kâlə*. The pronouns *ñân*, *avan*, *avaḷ*, *avar* and the participial nouns involving the three last-mentioned forms do not generally embody *ə*. Original dissyllabic (and trissyllabic) words do not generally have *ə*.

l, *n*, *ḷ*, *ṇ*, *r* in the contexts (*i.e.*, before consonants following) in which Mal. allows the use of the optional forms with final *ə*, forms like *kaṇṇɯ* (beside *kaṇ* 'eye'), *kâlɯ* (beside *kâl* 'leg'), *ârɯ* (beside *yâr* 'who?'), *veralɯ* (beside *veral* 'finger') occur in the Tam. colloquial before pauses and before words with initial consonants. The Tamil grammars have not recognized this colloquial feature, while in Mal. recognition has been given to it by all grammars from the time of Lîlâtilakam, which work (in the *vyâkhyâs* to III, 23 and 24) expressly permits forms with *samvṛta u*[9] like *tôlə* (beside *tôl* 'skin'), *kallə* (beside *kal* 'stone').

(*ii*) I have pointed out above that according to strict grammatical rules the final sound in Tam. *kadavu* (door), *puṛavu* (dove), etc. is *u* and not *ɯ*, though in vocalic *sandhi* the *u* here behaves like *ɯ* in that it is elided before a following vowel. In Mal., such words as *aḷavə* (measurement), *kaḷavə* (theft) are definitely recognized as having a final *samvṛta u* [L, III, 22—*vâdardhamâtrokâraḥ*]. The discrepancy between the Tamil grammatical rule and Tamil literary vocalic *sandhi* action in connection with these words does not exist in Mal.

(*iii*) Again, it has been noted that in Tam. colloquial and in comparatively late literary Tam. *sandhi*, the value of the final vowel in the words for 'that' and 'this' is that of *ɯ* and not of *u*: *adɯ*, *idɯ*, though according to strict grammatical rules and to the early literary usage the final sound is a *mut't'riyal-ugaram u*. For Mal., however, Lîlâtilakam [III, 5] expressly describes the final sound of *adə* as the *samvṛta u*. Apparently, the colloquial practice of giving the value of a

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[9] In Mal. forms like *kun'n'ə* (hill), *maññə* (mist, fog), *marun'n'ə* (medicine), the final *ə* is constant and compulsory because the groups *n'n'*, *ññ* and *n'n'* respectively of *kun'n'ə*, *maññə* and *marun'n'ə* are derived from older consonant groups in which plosives are involved :

n'n' (of *kun'n'ə*) < *nd'*
n'n' (of *marun'n'ə*) < *n'd*
ññ (of *maññə*) < *ñj*

Older *mənd'roḍar* consonant groups are involved here, and the compulsory enunciative (-*ɯ* in Tamil) is normal.

samvṛta to the final sound here, has been given express recognition to in literary Mal. Instances in which the earlier literary Tamil tradition is preserved in Mal. are also not wanting:—*adu-v̆-ê kâṇ* [Bhg., 2, 23] beside *idu-v-um-kêḷ* in 6, 11 of the same fourteenth century text.

Summing up, one may say that except in dissyllabic words like *maṟu* (wart), *naḍu* (middle), *kuru* (boil), *puḻu* (worm) in which a short basic vowel is followed by a single consonant, the final *ugaram* sound in Mal. (whenever and wherever it occurs) has always the value of a *samvṛta*, *i.e.*, the value of ə in Mal.

This *samvṛta* sound of Mal. is a more open and frontalized sound than the corresponding *ɯ* of Tamil. It is very like the "neutral" vowel in the second syllables of the English words *water*, *better*, etc. It preserves this quality only before pauses and to a certain extent before words with initial back consonants. That its immediate ancestor[10] in the history of Mal. was a sound like Tam. *ɯ* is clear from the fact that in word-compounds and in intimate phrasal combinations where the first word has the *samvṛta* as the final sound and the second word has an initial consonant, the value of the *samvṛta* in Mal. has a strong tendency to revert to *ɯ*. *Cf.* the following:—

(1) *î nâḍə* (this land) — ə in *nāḍə* before pause; *nâḍɯ kaḍattuga* (to exile) — *ɯ* [or *ü*] before a consonant.

(2) *oru keṭṭə* (one bundle) — ə before a pause; *keṭṭɯ poḷiccu* (the bundle was opened) — *ɯ* before consonant.

(3) *on'n'um-on'n'um reṇḍə* (one plus one makes two) — *e* before a pause; *reṇḍɯ pâvaññal* (two poor creatures) — *ɯ* before consonant.

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[10] The change of older *-ɯ* to *-ə* in Mal. (before pauses) should have occurred prior to the 16th century, inasmuch as an inscription of this period shows many instances without the symbol for *-u* or *-ɯ*— TAS., III, pp. 81, 82.

This Mal. ə is invariably elided before a following vowel within breath-groups and meaning-groups in the colloquial and in modern prose, and in poetry within the pauses prescribed for verse-units.

(2) Subject to the rule relating to ə (*ш*) and to the exceptions mentioned below in 3, the junction of vowels in *sandhi* contexts gives rise to the production of a semi-vocalic glide-sound. I have discussed these glides elsewhere.

(3) Elision of vowels in cases other than that of the *samvṛta u* is not mentioned in L; but numerous types occur in literary usage.

(*i*) Optatives[11] of the type of *vâḻga* (may one rule!) have been used in Mal. from the earliest periods as polite imperatives. The final *-a* of such forms is in poetry commonly elided, though instances where there is no elision, also occur:

nilk-adellâm (let all that wait!) — RC, 34
—used here as a third personal optative.
uṇaṛttug-end'ân (he said, "make him aware") — RC, 267
—used here as 'polite imperative'.
aṛig-en'n'u (saying 'know thou!') — KR, 6.
n'î ceyg-en'n'ê (saying 'do thou')—KR, Âr., 153.
grahikk-en'n'u (saying 'understand thou')—Bhg, 6, 12.
viḷaṅṅug-ennil—KG, 20.
paṛag-en'n'u (saying 'communicate thou')—EAR. Kiṣ., 343.
kaḍan'n'îḍug-em-bôt't'î—US, I, 90.

The following are instances where there is no elision:

enikku tuṇayâga-y̆-idinê (may he be of support to me!)
—RC, 7.
enikk-aṛiyikka-y̆-en'n'u (saying 'inform me')—KR, Âr., 4.
kâṇga-y̆-en'n'e (saying 'see thou')—Bhg, 11, 1.

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[11] According to TŚ, 226, these optatives are used only in the third person in Tamil; but even in old Tam., they began to be used for the first and second persons.

In old Mal. they were used for the second and third persons, while in late Mal. they are restricted to the second person as polite imperatives. In Kaṇṇ. they are used only for the third person.

kâṇga-y-apûrvamâya....(see thou the unique....)—Bhg, 11, 2.

(*ii*) The final vowels of the first constituents of some intimate word-compounds are sometimes elided :

pôṭṭ-ivan [*pôṭṭe*+*ivan*] (let him go).

kar-êṟi [*kara*+*êṟi*] (having got into a safe landing place, 'to climb').

veṇṇa kaṭṭ-uṇṇi ('the infant who stole butter')—used to describe infant Śrî Krishna—*kaṭṭa*+*uṇṇi*.

pet't'-amma (the mother who delivered the child) used to emphasise the intimacy of relationship between mother and son—*pêt't'a*+*amma*.

vali-acchan—[*valia*+*acchan*].

eviḍ-eviḍe—[*eviḍe*+*eviḍe*].

(*iii*) Final -*a* of the verbal relative participles is elided in the older texts in certain instances :

paraññ-âṟe (on saying) from older *parañña-v̆-âṟê*.

vaḍivuḷḷ-ânavaḍivu—RC 1.

vand-arigaḷe (the enemies who came)—RC, 330.

pêppedun'n'-aracan (the king who fears)—RC, 12.

moḻind-aḷavu (on saying)—RC, 137.

aṟiññ-aṟivu (the knowledge that has been acquired)—Bhg, 6, 8.

aḻud-aḷavê (on weeping)—Bhg, 2, 6.

vil muṟiññ-occa (the noise produced by the breaking of the bow)—EAR, Bâl.

Instances like *van'n'-ôr-âḷ* [*van'na*+*or*+*âḷ*] (the person who came), used in poetry, show the elision of -*a* of the relative participle *van'n'a*. In *van'n'-êḍam* (the place to which one came), commonly heard in the colloquial, there is elision of -*a* of *van'n'a*, together with the lengthening of *e* of *eḍam* [< *iḍam*].

(*iv*) Final -*a* of the Infinitive when used in the old texts as a participle governing an immediately following verb is often elided before a following vowel in old texts :

êṟ-aḻuvân (for weeping too much) where *êṟa* is an infinitive participle derived from *êṟ*- (to grow)—KR, Âr., 68.

ê̱r-eriññu (blazed greatly)—Bhg, 11, 6.
tê̱r-arudagiya (what was difficult of comprehension)—Bhg, 2, 18.
iḻag-on'n'-ârttadunêram (at the time when shouted so loudly as to agitate the enemies)—KR, 119.
okk-eḍuttu (took entirely)—RC, 38.

In *ceyy-arudə* (should not be done), *ceyy-aṭṭe* (let me, him, her, it do) [< *ceyya+oṭṭ-ê*], *ceyy-âm* (may be done), the first constituent is an Infinitive with *-a* which in these forms is always elided in old and new Mal. alike. *ceyy-aṇam* (should be done) is a contraction of *ceyya+vêṇam* [< *vêṇum* < *vêṇḍ-um*], entailing elision of *-a* of *ceyya*.

(*v*) *-u* of *oru*, the adjectival numeral for 'one', is elided in expressions like *or-âḷ*; *cf.* Tam. *or-âyiram* (one thousand).

In expressions like *van'n'-eṅgil* [beside *van'n'u-v̆-eṅgil* (if one came)], I think that originally the vowel elided was *-ɯ*, since the Mal. finite verb *van'n'u* (came) is presumably a development in Mal. from an older *samvṛta ɯ* (or a near sound) which was the final of the verb-stem at the time when the endings were dropped in Mal. It was the *samvṛta* sound that suffered elision in instances like *van'n'-eṅgil* [*cf.* KP, p. 106].

(*vi*) *-e* of the singular genitive ending *-nd'e* is sometimes elided: *end'uḷḷam tagarn'n'iḍun'n'u* (my mind is being shattered) —OT, p. 258. *pôṭṭ-ivan* (let him go) beside *pôṭṭe-y̆-ivan*, is sometimes used in poetry. In *ceyyâd-irun'n'u*, beside *ceyyâde-y̆-irun'n'u* (he remained without doing), *vêr-oru-kâryam* beside *vê̱re-y̆-oru-kâryam* (another matter), *mumb-irun'n'u* beside *mumbe-y-irun'n'u* (sat in front) [US, I, 3], there need not necessarily have been elision of *e*; for *-ê* in *ceyyâdê*, *vê̱rê*, *mumbê* is an emphatic particle annexed to the original forms *ceyyâdɯ*, *vê̱rɯ* and *mumbɯ*. These original forms had the *samvṛta* as their finals, which suffered elision according to the general rule[12] relating to the meeting of a *samvṛta* and another vowel in *sandhi* contexts.

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[12] In instances like the following also, occurring in old texts, no elision need be postulated in view of the original nature of the bases:

Kannaḍa

1. Final *-u* of all Kannaḍa words except dissyllabic ones with short radical vowels followed by short consonants, like *naḍu* (middle), *pul̤u* [*hul̤u*] (worm), is elided when meeting other vowels :

nân-illi—nânu (I) +*illi* (here) ;
iddan-alli—iddanu (he remained) +*alli* (there) ;
kâḍ-adu—kâḍu (forest) +*adu* (that) ;
kuḷit-iddanu—kuḷitu (sitting) +*iddanu* (he remained) ;

but *pul̤u-v̆-illa* (there is no worm), *naḍu-v̆-idu* (this is the middle), etc., show that *-u* of *pul̤u*, *naḍu*, etc., is not elided.

Practically, then, the difference in *sandhi* action between the non-elidable *-u* of dissyllabic words like *pul̤u*, *naḍu*, and the elidable *-u* of other words corresponds to the difference (in vocalic *sandhi*) between the non-elidable Tam. *mut't'riyal-ugaram u* and the elidable *kut't'riyal-ugaram u*.

The following points, however, are noteworthy :

(*i*) There is no difference in the phonetic *character* or value of the elidable *u* and the non-elidable *u* in Kannaḍa ; both have the same sound-value, *viz.*, that of a rounded labial *u*.

(*ii*) Kannaḍa grammarians, therefore, have not prescribed expressly the distinction between the contexts where elidable *-u* occurs and those where the non-elidable *-u* may occur.

(*iii*) Kannaḍa[13] shows (like post-*śangam* Tamil) optional

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Old *iv- ellâm* (all these)—KR, Âr. 8—modern *iva-y-ellâm*.

-iv- appears as a "neuter" plural demonstrative base in Tamil; *cf.* Nâlaḍi *avvum*.

Old *ill-en'n'* (to the effect that there is not....) beside more modern *illa-y-en'n'-* . *il* (not) is the base ; *cf.* Tam. *ill-end'r-*, Kann. *ill-end-*.

[13] In Kann. consonantal *sandhi*, the difference between the elidable *-u* and the non-elidable *-u* becomes important in one context, *viz.*, the change of *ṛ* > *r* and of *ḍ* > *l̤* before consonants following [see *infra*] : *mâṛ(u)+kôl = mârkôl* ; but *kiṛu+kôl = kiṛu-gôl*. *kiṛu* being a dissyllabic word with short vowels and consonants, the final *u* is not elided ; the meeting of *ṛ* with the following consonant is barred, and the change of *ṛ* > *r* does not take place. Similarly in *kâl̤-kircu* [= *kâḍ*(*u*)+*kircu*], the final *-u* of *kâḍu* is elided, while in *kaḍu-gampu* the final *-u* of *kaḍu* is not elided.

elision of -*u* of *adu*, *idu*, in instances like *adum* beside *adu-v̆-um* as in Śmd. ; *adê* (even that) beside *adu-v-ê* [CA, p. 41].

The elision of -*u* before other vowels is referred to in Bhbh, 19 and 20 ; Śmd, 52 ; and ŚŚ, 36. In these *sûtras* the elision of -*u* is considered together with the elision of other sounds. The absence of elision in the case of the -*u* of words like *naḍu* and *huḷu* is envisaged by a general statement in all the three grammars that "sounds should not be elided when the sense is destroyed". This perhaps is not a quite satisfactory explanation of the absence of elision in *naḍu*, *huḷu*, etc. ; for, though the avoidance of the impairing of the sense is one of the factors underlying the absence of elision in some instances, the more prominent reason is connected with the principle of "syllabic distribution" underlying the constitution of Dravidian words and the effect that this has produced on the quality of the non-elidable *u* on the one hand and the elidable sound on the other.

2. The link-sounds *y̆* and *v̆* crop up between two meeting vowels in the circumstances described by me in my paper "Dravidic Glides". In that paper of mine I have dealt with the resemblances and differences between Kannaḍa and the Dravidian speeches with reference to the character and occurrence of these semi-vocalic glides.

3. Elision of vowels (other than the elidable -*u*) in *sandhi* contexts is provided for in Bhbh, 19 and 20, Śmd, 52 and ŚŚ, 36. The Sûtras of Bhbh. and ŚŚ. are very general propositions, while the Śmd. rule specifically points out that "elision of a vowel during vocalic junction occurs in inflexional endings and *prakṛti* endings of Sanskrit and Kannaḍa words, so long as the meaning is not impaired thereby".

(*i*) Among inflexional endings,[14] -*a* of the sixth case ending; -*e* of the fourth case ending -*ke*, -*ge* ; and of the fifth and

[14] It has to be noted that the vowels elided in these inflexional endings are special developments in Kannaḍa, which are not met with in the cognate Tamil endings :

-*a* of the genitive—*cf.* Tam. *mâv-in-elai* (leaf of the mango tree).

the seventh case endings *-inde*; and *-i* of the eighth case termination *-alli*, are elided :—

mâvin-ele (leaf of mango tree)—*mâvina+ele*.

avan-aṅgamam (his limbs)—*avana+aṅgamam*—JBh., 28, 25.

kâḍ-emme (forest buffalo)—JBh.

sâlagrâmad-ondu ramaṇîya śile (a beautiful stone of the sâlagrâma variety)—*sâlagrâmada+ondu*—JBh, 28, 22.

kolag-eḷasi (having desired to kill)—*kolage+eḷasi*—JBh, 28, 30.

aḷtiyind-esadu (having become gratified with pleasure)—*aḷtiyinde+esadu*—JBh, 28, 20.

neladall-irdam (he sat on the ground)—*neladalli+irdam*.

yatnadal-ênu (what good lies in herculean efforts ?)—CA.

(*ii*) Elision of vowels is prescribed for instances like the following:

dâḷ-iṭṭam (he made an attack)—*dâḷi+iṭṭam*.

kûḍ-irdam (he remained together)—*kûḍi+irdam*.

In instances like these, the final *-i* is followed by another *i-*, and wherever the meaning is not impaired, *i-* is elided.

(*iii*) I find the *-a* of the Relative verbal participle elided in some instances in the texts :

kaṇḍa kaṇḍ-abaleyar (those women who saw)—JBh, 20—*-a* of *kaṇḍa* is elided before *a-* of *abaleyar*.

kâṇad-âtaṅge-y̆-ĕke kannaḍi ? (what is the use of a mirror for a blind man ?)—CA, p. 7.

(*iv*) In *aras-âḷ* [*arasa+âḷ*], *acc-âne* [*acca+âne*], *-a* which meets another *a-*, is elided.

(*v*) The final vowels of *matte* (other, next), *munne* (formerly, etc.) *muñce, baḷige* (near, towards), *baḷika* (afterwards), *hâge, hîge, hêge, oḷage* (inside), *allige* (there), *mellage* (slowly), *summane* (quietly), etc., are elided before vowels following, in

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-ge of the dative—*cf.* Tam. *-k ku-*

-inde of the instrumental—*cf.* Kann. *-inda*, *-in*, etc.

-alli of the locative—*cf.* *-alu*, the old Kann. locative ending [Kittel's *Gr.*, p. 42].

In view of this, it is probable that elision here was helped by an older tradition in Kannaḍa.

literary texts and in the colloquial (wherever the forms concerned are used). *-e* in some of these instances, not being an organic part of the word-bases, suffers easy elision. Elision is allowed in all these instances because the meanings are nowhere impaired thereby.

(*vi*) In comparatively late texts, the elision of vowels is optional in the following :

maneyalli-y̆-û or *maneyallû* (also in the house)

dêvarage-y̆-ê or *devaragê* (to the god indeed).

mâḍidiri-y̆-adannu or *mâḍidiradannu* (you did it).

bandare-y-ênu or *bandarênu.*

mâḍuttêne-y-âddarinda or *mâḍuttênâddarinda.*

koḍade-y̆-iddanu or *koḍadiddanu* (he remained without giving).

summane-y-iddanu or *summaniddanu* (he kept quiet).

Two things are noteworthy in these instances :

(*i*) *mâḍidiri* (you did) and *mâḍuttêne* (I do) are modern forms, the correspondents of which in the older dialect are *mâḍidir* and *mâḍidapam* which had consonantal finals. No question of vocalic elision was, therefore, involved in these instances. *-i* of later *mâḍidir-i* is a special Kann. development.

(*ii*) Final *-e* of Kann. *koḍade* and *devarage,* when compared to Tam. *koḍâḍɯ* and *têvarkkɯ*, reveals itself as a special Kann. development.

(*iii*) The optional retention of the final vowels in some of the above instances like *mâḍidiri*, *devarage* points to the old tradition (of elision) having fallen into desuetude.

The tendency to elide final vowels (other than the elidable *ugaram*) before other vowels is on the whole stronger in Kann. than in Tamil, even when allowance has been made for the fact that some of the instances of elision in Kann. may have been facilitated (or even started) by an older tradition in which these particular vowels were not involved.

Telugu

1. In vocalic junction, the final *-u* of all Telugu words and forms is elided before another vowel [AC, 18].

-*u* in final positions of Telugu words appears in the literary dialect after all consonants except after the consonantal druta *n* in certain contexts and after *l* and *r* in the oldest literary texts and inscriptions; in the colloquial, this -*u* appears (with greater or lesser distinctness) after all consonants in final positions, except -*m*-.

The distinction observed in Tamil between *mut't'riyal-ugaram* and *kut't'riyal-ugaram* does not exist in Telugu either in respect of the sound-value or in respect of the behaviour in *sandhi* contexts, since (for historical reasons) vocalic *sandhi* contexts involving purely dissyllabic words with short vowels and consonants (similar to those in which Tam. has *mut't'riyal ugaram*) ceased to exist in the pre-literary period.

2. For the discussion of semi-vocalic link-sounds in literary and colloquial Telugu, see my paper on "Dravidic Glides".

3. Elision of vowels other than -*u* occurs in a number of contexts in Telugu:—

(*i*) -*i*[15] of the second person pronominal endings of finite verbs is always elided before another following vowel:

cêsitiv-appuḍu (thou didst it then)—*cêsitivi* + *appuḍu*

cûcitir-ella—*cucitiri* + *ella*

(*ii*) -*i* of the first person and third person plural pronominal endings of verbs is optionally elided:

vacciri-y̆-ellaru or *vaccir-ellaru* (all persons came).

uṇṭimi-y̆-accaḍa or *uṇṭim-accaḍa* (we remained there).

(*iii*) Final -*i* (and -*a*) of personal names, when compounded with the honorific appellatives *amma*, *ayya*, *akka*, etc., is elided: *lakṣmamma*—*lakṣmi* + *amma*; in *sîtamma* [*sîta* + *amma*], *subbappa* [*subba* + *appa*], -*a* is elided.

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[15] The *i* of this group and of the next appears to be a special development in Tel. The corresponding forms in Tamil have final consonants. What is now described as elision (from a later standpoint) was possibly merely the juxtaposition of the initial vowel of the following word to the final consonant of the form in an original stage.

(*iv*) Final vowels of words denoting 'measure', 'weight', etc., when combined with the word *e[ṇ]ḍu*, an affix meaning 'full' are always elided:

puṭṭ-e[ṇ]ḍu (candy-full)—*puṭṭi* + *e[ṇ]ḍu* ;

(*gump-e[ṇ]ḍu* basket-full)—*gumpa* + *e[ṇ]ḍu*.

(*v*) Final *-a* of certain words and forms is always elided, before *âku* (leaf), *anta* (the whole), and *êsi* (at the rate of): *cint-æku* (leaf of the *cinta* plant) [*cinta* + *âku* ; *â-* becomes *æ*] ; *cêṭ-anta* (the whole of the dust-bin) [*cêṭa* + *anta*] ; *gumpe[ṇ]ḍ-êsi* (by basketfuls).

In *mâmiḍ-æku* beside *mâmiḍi-y̆-âku*, *kobbar-æku*, beside *kobbara-y̆-âku*, etc., the elision is optional.

(*vi*) Final *-a* of the first constituents of popular compounds like the following suffers elision:

cinnatta (younger aunt)—*cinna* + *atta*.

cinnalluḍu (younger son-in-law)—*cinna* + *alluḍu*.

pedd-anna (elder brother)—*pedda* (big) + *anna*.

[*cf.* Tam. colloquial *śinn-aṇṇa* (the younger or youngest of the elder brothers) where there is elision of *-a* of *śinna* (small).]

Tel. *pull-âvu* (brown cow)—*pulla* + *âvu*.

baṭṭ-eddu (dappled ox)—*baṭṭa* + *eddu*.

eṟṟ-âvu (red cow)—*eṟṟa* + *âvu*.

[*cf.* Tam. colloquial *veḷḷ-ânai* (white elephant).]

(*vii*) In the following popular word-collocations, elision of *-a* is optional:

puṭṭin-illu (house where one is born) *puṭṭina-y-illu*.

[*cf.* Tam. colloquial *piṟand-âm* with the same meaning as the above; here too *-a* of *piṟanda* is elided.]

râk-uṇḍênu (he remained without coming), *râka-y̆-uṇḍênu*.

vân-ekkuva (excess of rain), *vâna-y-ekkuva*.

śram-ekkuva (excess of effort), *śrama-y-ekkuva*.

(*viii*) Elision of *-a* of the sixth case plural termination is met with in certain instances from the time of Bhârata downwards:—

râjul-âjña (the order of the kings)—*râjula* + *âjña*.

tallul-odda (near the mothers)—*tallula* + *odda*.

(*ix*) Though the Atharvaṇa-kârikâvaḷi expressly mentions that the final vowel -*i* of verbal past participles is not elided, instances of elision exist in texts, particularly when the vowel that follows itself is *i*- :

cûc-iṭu-rammu [*cûci* 'having seen' +*iṭu* 'here' +*rammu* 'come ye'].

eṛi[*ṅ*]*g-eṛi*[*ṅ*]*gi* (having known well or continually) in Bhâgavata, while Bhârata has *eṛiṅgi-y̆-eriṅgi*.

aḍig-icc [*aḍigi* 'having called' +*icc*- 'to give'].

In the iteration of past participles, like *aḍig-aḍigi* (having called continually), *icc-icci* (having given continually), the -*i* of the first constituent is permitted by some grammarians.

For the elision of -*i* of the past participle, when followed by another *i*-, *cf.* Kann. *kûḍiddaru* (they remained together).

(*x*) -*i* of *êmi* (what?), of a number of nouns like *tanḍri* (father), *penḍli* (marriage), *venḍi* (silver), of pronouns like *adi* (that), *avi* (those), of the numerals *enimidi* (eight), *tommidi* (nine), *padi* (ten), and of the negative verbal participles with -*ani*, is optionally elided :[16]

êm-anṭivi (what didst thou say?), *êmi-y-anṭivi*.

ad-êmi (what is that?), *adi-y̆-êmi*.

rân-aṭlu, *râni-y̆-aṭlu*.

(*xi*) Initial *a*- of *adi*, *avi* is sometimes elided when these are suffixed to other words : in *kavidi* (belonging to the poet). *vânidi*, *vâridi*, *dânidi*, *tôḍidi*, there is constant elision ; after -*â* or -*a*, as in *nâ-y-adi* beside *nâdi*, *tana-y-adi* beside *tanadi*, the elision is said to be optional [instances in Bhārata not showing

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16 It may be noted that in at least some forms of this set, the final -*i* is a special development in Telugu ; it is therefore possible that what is described as elision of -*i* from the Telugu standpoint, may have been facilitated by an older condition in which no question of -*i* arose : *cf.* the following :

adi (that)—Tam. *adu*, Kann. *adu*.

tommidi—Tam. *onbadu*.

vâyi (mouth)—Tam. *vây*.

telivi (clearness, understanding)—Tam. *teḷivu*.

êni, *ênin*—Tam. *âyin*, *ayin-um*.

elision]; the so-called *sambhandârthaka* ending (with *adu*) shows elision of *a-* in instances like *nâ-du sommu*, *tanadu kîrti* [AC, 63].

(*xii*) In popular compounds like *tâtamma*, *ammamma*, *nâyanamma*, *nânna*, the second constituent loses its initial.

Tuḷu

The vowels occurring in final positions of Tuḷu words are *a*, *â*, *i*, *î*, *u*, *û*, *e*, *ê*, *o*, *ô*, *œ* and *ɯ*; initially, all the above sounds except *œ* and *ɯ* are found.

1. The sound *ɯ* and its relative *u* appearing instead of *ɯ* under the influence of *u* in a preceding syllable (*vide* my paper on "Tuḷu Prose Texts", *BSOS*, 1933) are elided within breath-groups and verse-units before another following vowel:

ên-î saṅgatinɯ pinœye (I know nothing of this matter)—*ênɯ*+*î*.

tûd-itte (he had seen)—*tûdu*+*itte*.

gellɯḍ-itterɯ (they were on the branch)—*gellɯḍɯ*+*itterɯ*.

âkuḷ-aiṭ-itterɯ (they were there)—*âkuḷu*+*aiṭɯ*+*itterɯ*.

In *tûdu* (having seen) [past verbal participle of *tû-* (to see) and *âkuḷu* (they)], the final sound is an elidable *-u*, the rounded character of which is due to the influence of the *u* of the preceding syllable.

There is a non-elidable final *-u* (as in Tam., Mal. and Kann.) in Tuḷu in dissyllabic forms with short radical vowels followed by a single consonant, as in *naḍu* (middle), *puḷu*, *puru* (worm), *kaḍu* (pungency). When this *-u* meets another following vowel, link-sounds are produced.

2. Link-sounds crop up in Tuḷu, as in other south Dravidian speeches, between meeting vowels, whenever there is no elision; I have discussed this topic in my "Dravidic Glides".

3. The following types of vocalic elision are observable in Tuḷu:

(*i*) *-i* of *oñji* (one), *mûji* (three), *âji* (six) is elided before another following vowel:—

oñj-êḍu (one goat)—*oñji*+*êḍu*.

mûj-oṇṭæ (three camels).

âj-ânæ (six elephants).

mûj-aḍi (three sacred footsteps of Viṣṇu).

Now, these Tuḷu forms correspond to Tamil *ond'rɯ* (one), *mûnd'rɯ* (three), *âṛɯ* (six) where the final vowel *ɯ* is always elided in the junction of vowels ; it seems that *-i* in the Tuḷu forms is a special development. What now looks like the elision of *-i* (from the standpoint of Tuḷu) in *oñj-êḍu*, etc. may possibly have involved originally only the elision of a final *ɯ* which before pauses and before consonants changed to *-i* in Tuḷu.

(*ii*) The genitival *-a* is elided before vowels in intimate compounds :

marad-iræ (leaf of tree)—*marada* +*iræ*.

nird-êrikæ (fullness of water)—*nîrda*+*êrikæ*.

(*iii*) Vocalic elision exists in compounds like *santôṣ-âdɯ* (with pleasure) [*santôṣa*+*âdɯ* (having become)], *prayatn-ante* (made efforts) [*prayatna*+*ante*], *sikn-iddi* (not obtainable) [*sikkuna*+*iddi*], *samśay-âtuṇḍu* (there was doubt) [*samśaya* +*âtuṇḍu* (became)], *kaṇḍant-ari* (the rice of the field) [*kaṇḍanta* +*ari*], *môs-ampuṇa* (to deceive) [*môsa*+*ampuṇa*], *enc-âṇḍalâ* (however) [*enca*+*âṇḍalâ*], etc.

(*iv*) The initial vowel of the second constituent is elided in instances like the following :

popæ-ntɯ (saying 'I shall go')—*pôpæ*+*ɯntɯ* or *antɯ*.

pôpæ-ḍegɯ (I shall go there)—*pôpæ*+*aḍegɯ*.

pôpǣ-ṇḍalâ (though I shall go)—*pôpæ* [*-æ* is lengthened to compensate the loss of *â-*]+*âṇḍalâ*.

Other Speeches

Winfield [*Gr.*, p. 2] points out that in intimate compounds and phrases like *tla-inba*, *pṛi-nba*, the final *-u* [corresponding to the south Dravidian elidable *-u* or *-ɯ* (of Tam.) and occurring (in Kûi) after *all* final consonants of words] is elided.

In Gôṇḍi, Kuṛukh and Brâhûî, words and forms are so commonly *halanta* that contexts of vocalic junction are very much fewer than in south Dravidian.

	Tamil	Malayâḷam	Kannaḍa	Telugu	Tuḷu	Kûi
1. Final *-u* of dissyllabic bases with short radical vowels and short consonants, not elided	*puḻu-v̆-idu* (this is a worm)	*puḻu-v̆-idə*	*huḷu-v̆-idu*	*cf. guru-v̆-aniye*		
Exceptions: *adu, idu*	late Tamil elision of *-u*	optional elision in old Mal., constant elision in late Mal.	optional elision —*cf. adê* [JBh, 40]	optional elision of the final vowel of *adi, idi*		
oru, iru	*or-âyiram* (one thousand) beside *ôr-ây-iram*	*or-âyiram*				
2. *-u* or a sound allied to *-u* is elided before vowels following	*-ɯ*	*-ə, ɯ-*	*-u*	*-u*	*-ɯ, -u*	*-u*
3. While the general rule is that, apart from the types mentioned above, there is no elision of vowels, there are certain exceptional categories showing elision:						
(*i*) *-a* of the optative	optionally elided	optional elision		optional in *puṭṭin-illu*		
(*ii*) *-a* of the past Relative participle is sometimes elided	colloquial *pukk-âm, piṛand-âm*	old Mal. *vil-muriññ-occa*, etc.; *pet't'amma*				

	Tamil	Malayâḷam	Kannaḍa	Telugu	Tuḷu	Kûi
(*iii*) -*a* of the genitival ending			*marad-ele*	*râjul-âjñâ*	*marad--irœ*	
(*iv*) In intimate word-compounds	colloquial *and-aṇḍai* (that side), *cinn-aṇṇa* (younger of the elder brothers), etc.	*tal-ôḍ-* (to caress by stroking the hair), etc.	*kûḍ-irdam* (he remained together), and a number of cases in which elision is permitted if meaning is not impaired	a number of instances of optional or compulsory elision		
(*v*) -*a* of the Infinitive participle	not elided	Frequent in intimate sequences in old Mal.; in new Mal. limited to *ceyy-arudə*, *pôg-aṭṭê*, etc.	not elided	—		
(*vi*) -*i* of the Past participle	elision only in rapid colloquial, when -*i* meets *i*-	—	elided when meeting another *i*-, as in *kûḍ-irdam*	elided in some instances like *cûc-iṭu-rammu*		

STUDIES IN BIRD-MYTHS
No. XLVII

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

[On a Papuan Myth about the Battle of the Birds and the Ant]

THE aborigines of Papua narrate the following didactic myth :

THE ANT AND THE PHEASANT.

An ant and a pheasant were great friends and used to go together ahunting. One day the ant, without the pheasant's knowledge, killed a hornbill who was the king of the birds. When the pheasant saw this, he was greatly horrified and informed all the birds about what the ant had done. The birds met together to consult and determined to kill the ant. Hearing this, the ant climbed up a tall tree and awaited the birds' attacks. When the birds came one by one and attacked the ant, the latter slew them one after another. Then he made up a covering of leaves and lived therein, being glad in his heart that he had killed all his enemies. However, one day a great raven came and tore up the leafy covering and devoured the ant.*

On carefully analysing the foregoing myth we find that :—

(*a*) It is a didactic myth because it teaches a great moral about the victory achieved by an insignificant enemy over powerful adversaries. The ant is a weak insect whereas his assailants were powerful and big birds who attacked him after banding themselves together.

(*b*) This thing about the victory achieved by a weak and insignificant creature over powerful and strong-bodied beasts is the favourite subject of many folk tales which are current among various races of people all over the world. (See, in this connection, my article entitled "On Beast Apologues of a New Type" which has been published in *Man in India*, Vol. VI, pp. 14–25.

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* *Vide Folk Tales of All Nations.* By F. H. Lee. Published by George G. Harrap & Co., London, 1931, pp. 789-90.

(*c*) We find that the primitive savages like the Papuans believe that in ancient times, the birds and other creatures could hold conversations with each other and were capable of taking concerted action and that insignificant insects like the ant could understand the language of the birds.

(*d*) The primitive myth-maker has not done poetic justice in this case. He ought to have allowed the victorious ant to live in peace in his leafy covering. But, instead of doing this, he has done injustice to the victorious ant by allowing him to be eaten up by a great raven with whom he did not wage war.

(*e*) It is curious to find from this myth that both the hornbill and the pheasant inhabit the island of Papua and that the aborigines of that island are familiar with these birds. I think that they belong to species quite distinct from those which are found in India and Burma. It is unfortunate that the gentleman who has collected this and other Papuan myths has omitted to give the scientific names of these two birds.

(*f*) Similar myths describing the battle of the birds and creeping creatures like snakes are current among other savage peoples. For instance, among the Sema-Nagas, a savage tribe living in the Assam Hill Tracts, a myth is current which describes the battle of the birds and the snakes in which the birds are stated to have won the victory over the snakes. (See my article entitled "On a Sema-Naga Ætiological Myth about the Black Colour of the Jungle Crow, the Red Colour of the Scarlet Minivet and the Red Colour of the Chin of the Ruby Throat, in *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XXI, No. 1.) Then again among the Angami Nagas, another Mongoloid tribe of Assam, a similar myth about the battle of the birds and the snakes is current. In this myth also, the birds are described as having defeated the snakes. (See my paper entitled "On an Angami Naga Myth about the Battle of the Birds and the Snakes," in the same *Journal*, Vol. XXI, No. 4.)

STUDIES IN PLANT-MYTHS
No. XXV

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

[On a Papuan Ætiological Myth about the Evolution of the Cocoanut Palm]

PAPUA or New Guinea is a very large but little known island, to the north of Australia and immediately south of the equator, connecting the Indian archipelago with Polynesia. The Papuan aborigines are of small stature with very thick lips, wide nostrils, and woolly hair frizzed out to an enormous size. The men paint and tattoo their bodies. They have an interesting mass of folklore which include, among others, the bird-myths and plant-myths. Among the plant-myths is the following folk-tale entitled "*Where the Cocoanut Tree came from*" which explains the origin of the cocoanut palm:

WHERE THE COCOANUT TREE CAME FROM

Once upon a time, a man used to go to the sea-beach and, taking off his head from his trunk, used to keep it on the beach and then used to go into the water, when the fish used to go down his decapitated neck and get caught in the man's inside. Then he used to come to the shore and replacing his head upon his neck, go home with the fish. A boy saw all this. So none used to eat the fish which that man had caught. Hearing this story from the boy, other men followed that man to the sea-shore and watched the latter's doings from a distance. When the man had entered the sea water, one of the watchers took the head and threw it into the bush. When the man returned to the shore but did not find his head, he changed himself into a big fish and dived into the sea.

Then one of the catchers, after a few days, went to the bush and found that the head had grown into a tall and slender palm bearing some nuts. At first men feared to eat these nuts. But when they saw a woman eating the kernel of the nuts and anointing her body with the water thereof and no harm came of it, men began to eat the nuts and drink its water.

If the husk be taken off from the cocoanut, the man's face will be seen depicted on the shell.*

From a study of the foregoing ætiological myth we find that—

(*a*) The Papuans, though they are in a low plane of culture, have a keen faculty for observing the peculiarities of trees and fruits.

(*b*) Seeing that the cocoanut shell bore on its surface the facsimile of a human face and being unable to explain the origin thereof, they have invented this myth to account for the origin thereof.

(*c*) Like the Santals, the Papuans also believe that men could take off their heads from their bodies and replace the same thereupon at their own sweet will and pleasure.

(*d*) The Papuans also believe that men among them could at their own sweet will and pleasure dive, into the depth of the sea, and remain thereunder for a long time without being suffocated and then come to the surface of the water again.

(*e*) The Papuans also believed that men among them possessed the magical power of transforming themselves into fishes at their own sweet will and pleasure.

(*f*) They also believed that the parts of the human body possess the power of transforming themselves into trees and plants.

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* *Vide Folk Tales of All Nations.* By F. H. Lee. Published by George G. Harrap & Co., London, 1931, pp. 799–801.

THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MYTHIC SOCIETY

Bangalore, August 7, 1935

CHIEF JUSTICE H. D. C. REILLY
in the Chair

THE Twenty-fifth Annual Meeting of the Mythic Society was held in the Daly Memorial Hall on Wednesday, August 7, 1935, with Mr. H. D. C. Reilly, Chief Judge, High Court of Mysore, in the Chair.

In welcoming the distinguished Chairman of the evening, the President of the Society, Rajakaryaprasakta Rao Bahadur Mr. M. Shama Rao spoke as follows:

PRESIDENT'S SPEECH

GENTLEMEN,

Before commencing the proceedings of this evening, it is our first duty to offer our prayers to the Almighty for having so speedily restored our Royal Patron, His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, to normal health after his recent illness. You will all join with me in praying that His Highness may be spared for many years to come to rule over us.

I seek your permission to extend a hearty welcome on behalf of the Mythic Society to our worthy Chairman of this year's annual function Chief Justice H. D. C. Reilly. His reputation as a Judge on the Bench of the High Court of Madras had preceded him when he came to Mysore last year. Sir Alladi Krishnaswamy Iyer, the Advocate-General of Madras, when bidding good-bye on behalf of the Presidency Bar to Mr. Reilly, referred to his many merits as a Judge—the free flow of expression, the punctuated pause, the expressive gestures, and the marshalling of facts and arguments on either side, when dictating his judgments. It is now many years ago that my connection with the Public Service of Mysore ceased and I have no fear now of my judgments as a Magistrate undergoing any scrutiny at the hands of Justice Reilly. I can, therefore,

be taken to give true expression to the opinions expressed in our State regarding him. It is a pleasure to us all to hear from the members of the Bar as well as from the general public that Justice Reilly keeps up the same high standard of duty on the Bench of our High Court as he did when he adorned the Madras High Court Bench.

The Mythic Society, however, cannot be content with merely offering the worthy Chairman of this day a welcome based upon his reputation in Madras. I would therefore take him for the time being as an unknown Englishman and apply the tests to see whether he possesses the qualities which our experience of Englishmen in Mysore in the past has come to associate with them.

It was in 1751 that the English and the Mysoreans were for the first time brought into relationship at Trichinopoly as allies of Mohammad Ali when he was closely besieged by Chanda Saheb, the rival candidate for the Nawabship of Arcot. Mohammad Ali's envoy solicited the aid of the Mysore troops, in addition to the support given by the British troops sent by the Madras Government; and the Mysore Minister at the time, Karachuri Nanjarajaiah, complied with the request on promise of receiving in return the fort of Trichinopoly and the territories dependent on it. Subsequently, Mohammad Ali's conduct gave rise to some coolness between the English commanders and Nanjarajaiah but ultimately they parted as friends and the Mysore troops returned to Seringapatam without achieving any substantial result.

In the Second Mysore War, the English sustained a defeat at the Battle of Paliloor in 1780 and a number of English prisoners were taken, among whom were Colonel Baillie and Colonel Baird. When Colonel Baillie and his fellow-prisoners were taken before Haidar, the latter, it is stated, expressed regret at the fate that had overtaken the British Officers and placed a sum of Rs. 1,000 in the hands of Baillie exhorting him and his brethren to eat, drink, sleep and be happy. The English prisoners had to complete a long march of 240 miles from Paliloor to reach Seringapatam. On their way one of

the prisoners, Lindsay by name, suffered from dysentery. One day a Mysore Sepoy belonging to his escort approached Lindsay and offered to prepare and give him some medicine if he would take it. Lindsay agreed and after a short time, the Sepoy returned with a mixture of green pomegranate juice and some milk. This Lindsay drank and fell into a sleep and awoke much better. The Sepoy whose pay was only rupees six a month also offered one rupee to Lindsay which, however, the latter declined. When the march to Seringapatam began, the wounded British Officers were sent in dhoolies and country carts. Colonel Baillie and some others associated with him were provided with palanquins. On the first day's march Tippu came to Colonel Baillie and complimented him on his gallantry attributing his defeat to the vicissitudes of war. While Haidar was at Arcot, the English prisoners were kept in a tent and they were at intervals attended by an Indian medical man who examined and dressed their wounds. At the different places at which they halted, it is recorded, that the inhabitants treated them with sympathy and respect. After the prisoners reached Seringapatam, a French Surgeon was permitted to attend to and dress the still open wounds of the prisoners, while two or three Indian servants whom the prisoners had brought with them were also allowed to stay in prison and permitted to go to the bazaar to make purchases for them. These servants as well as the French Surgeon served as the media of communication for these prisoners both with the outside world as well as for hearing the rumours of what was going on. In September 1783, at the annual Dasara festival the English prisoners were allowed free scope to witness the sports and other demonstrations that took place in the open yard before the palace by Tippu's orders.

In February 1792, peace terminating the Third Mysore War having been concluded, the two hostages required in assurance of the due fulfilment of the terms of the treaty were sent to Lord Cornwallis' camp near Ganjam. These hostages were the two sons of Tippu—Abdul Khallik aged 10 and Mohiyuddin aged 8. As they arrived at the British camp, Sir John

Kennaway, the British envoy who negotiated the treaty, met the young Princes at the British outposts under a guard of honour and conveyed them with all respect within the British lines. As the elephants on which the Princes were seated escorted by a number of followers passed through the British lines, the British troops presented arms, officers in front saluting. Attended by his staff, Lord Cornwallis received them at the entrance of his tent, where after they had descended from their howdahs he embraced them and led them in taking each by the hand. When Lord Cornwallis had placed one on each side of him as he sat, Gulam Ali, the Principal Vakil of Tippu, surrendered them formally saying—"These children were till this morning the sons of my master. Their situation is now changed and they must look up to Your Lordship as their father." Cornwallis then assured the Vakil that his protection would be fully extended to his interesting hostages; and he spoke so kindly and cheerfully that he is said to have at once won the confidence of the two boys. To each boy Lord Cornwallis presented a gold watch and in return he was presented with a fine Persian sword.

In the Fourth Mysore War on the 4th May 1799 when Seringapatam was stormed and fell into the hands of the English, as the British troops arrived at Tippu's palace, a British military officer, Major Allan was directed by General Baird to proceed with a detachment to the palace and inform the inmates that their lives would be spared on condition of their immediate surrender. Major Allan having fastened a white cloth to a sergeant's spike proceeded to the palace and found that several of Tippu's people were in a balcony and communicated to them the instructions given to him by General Baird. The Killedar of the fort then came out of the palace and with him Major Allan and two other British Officers entered the palace. Major Allan found assembled there a large body of armed men. To inspire confidence, Allan explained that the flag he held in his hand was a pledge of security and taking off his sword, insisted on their receiving it. Tippu not being in the palace, two of his sons received

him seated on carpets and surrounded by a great many attendants. They desired Major Allan to sit down and Major Allan's feelings at that time may be given in his own words :—"The recollection of one of the princes, Mohiyuddin, whom on a former occasion I had seen delivered up with his brother as hostages to Marquiss Cornwallis, the sad reverse of their fortune, the thought that how much so ever their father deserved our resentment they were blameless, their fears which notwithstanding their struggles to conceal were but too evident, excited in me the strongest emotions of compassion. I took Mohiyuddin by the hand and persuaded him by every means in my power that no violence would be offered to anybody in the palace." When the palace gates were opened, it was found that General Baird had arrived there with his troops and when he caught sight of the princes who were conducted to him, Baird though yet scarcely cooled from the fury of the storm, showed rare moderation and humanity in receiving them. He repeatedly assured them that no violence or insult would be offered to them and then he gave them in charge to Colonel Agnew and Captain Marriot to conduct them to the camp of the Commander-in-Chief escorted by a body of troops. As the Princes passed, the troops were ordered to pay them the compliment of presenting arms. Tippu was killed in the fight and his body after much search was deposited in the palace for the night.

It was midnight before Major Allan could return to his tent from Tippu's palace on the memorable day of the storming of the fort. It was no time, however, for him to take rest for any lengthy period. Returning to the fort the next morning Major Allan assisted in the burial of several of the fallen Mysore Officers. Colonel Arthur Wellesley, the famous future Duke of Wellington who had been appointed commander of the fort, sent guards to the houses of the principal men of the town to secure safety for their families. In order to stop plundering and molestation of the inhabitants on the part of some of the troops and their followers, Wellesley himself visited the houses of the principal officers of Tippu, gave them protection and

even went to the length of ordering the execution of four of the plunderers.

On the 5th May Tippu's funeral was arranged with all the honours due to his rank. His body was covered with fine muslins and rich cloths and placed in the State Palanquin. The bier carried by the servants of the palace was preceded by two companies of British troops with two companies in the rear. Meer Alum and other officers of the Nizam's service with Captain Malcolm and a great number of officers of the British army were at the gate of the Lal-Bagh and having paid their respects to the deceased, joined the procession. As the procession approached the Mausoleum, the British troops lined themselves on either side and as the bier passed, presented arms. A salute of minute guns corresponding to the age of the deceased was fired. The body was then placed next to that of Haidar Ali and the usual prayers and ceremonies being performed, Rs. 5,000 which had been given by order of Colonel Wellesley for the purpose, was distributed by the Kazi among the Fakirs and the poor who attended.

Lord Mornington decided to restore the old Hindu Royal family to power. But it was felt that both decorum and consideration for the feelings of the deposed family required that before the installation of the Hindu Raja on the throne of his ancestors, it was advisable and proper to remove Tippu's family from Seringapatam to Vellore, where Colonel Doveton the Commandant of the fort had been desired by Lord Mornington to spare no reasonable expenditure to render the habitation of the dispossessed family suitable to their former rank and expectations.

On the 24th June 1799 the Commissioners appointed by Lord Mornington proceeded to the house where the Mysore family resided and communicated the restoration to Rani Lakshmi Ammanni. The Rani expressed her lively sense of the clemency of the British Government which had raised her and her family from the depths of misery to their former station of elevation. To instal the Raja at Seringapatam was considered inexpedient, because it could only be done in

the Mahommedan palace where there were still residing several members of Tippu's family and a function of this kind in their vicinity was considered both cruel and improper and the installation therefore took place in Mysore.

Between Purniah and the British Residents of his time there existed considerable friendship. The town of Closepet, 30 miles distant from Bangalore, on the railway line to Mysore now bearing the name of that distinguished first Resident, was founded by Purniah in 1800. Webb's memory was perpetuated by Purniah in 1804 by the erection of a monument in the shape of a stone pillar which even now stands on an elevated spot to the north-west of the fort of Seringapatam at a distance of about 2 miles on the Seringapatam-French Rocks road and bears the inscription "Erected to the memory of Josiah Webb, Esquire, by Purniah, Dewan, as a tribute of veneration and respect for splendid talents, unsullied purity and eminent public virtue." Wilks wrote the first history of Mysore in English. Colonel Wellesley, whom Tennyson subsequently described as one who fought a hundred fights nor ever lost an English gun, remained in Mysore till 1805. A building in the Mysore City adjacent to west gate of the Government House where he stayed for about two years even now bears the name of Wellington Lodge. The Mysore troops co-operated with the British troops under the command of Colonel Arthur Wellesley in the Second Mahratta War and took part in the battles of Assaye and Argaum in 1803 and Colonel Wellesley refers in his despatches to the creditable part played by the Mysore troops in this war under the command of Bishtopunt.

Wellesley finally left India in March 1805. He was at the time presented with an address by the native inhabitants of Seringapatam conveying their gratitude to him for the tranquillity, security and happiness they enjoyed under his protection. In his letter to Purniah before his departure from India Wellesley expressed himself as parting from Purniah with the greatest regret and that he would ever continue to feel the most lively interest for the honour and prosperity of

the Government of the Raja of Mysore and that he was grateful to him for many acts of personal kindness. He concluded his letter in these words :—"I recommend to your constant favour and protection Bishtappa Pundit, Govinda Rao, Raghunatha Rao, Ranore and all the Sirdars and troops who served meritoriously with me in the last war, Seshaiah and the hircars belonging to you who accompanied me. They are all deserving of your favour. You know that for some years I have had under my protection Salabat Khan, the supposed or adopted son of Dhondoji Wagh. I have given him a sum of money and placed him under the guardianship of the court at Seringapatam and I request you to take him into the Raja's service hereafter, if you should find him worthy of your favour ...." Dhondoji Wagh was, I may say, a free-booter who escaped from his confinement on the day Seringapatam was assaulted by the English and gave considerable trouble afterwards in his marauding expeditions both to the British as well as the Mysore troops. At last he was overtaken by Wellesley in the Nizam's dominions and was slain in a battle that was fought. Salabat Khan who was only four years old was found at the time hiding among the baggages and taken to Arthur Wellesley who took care of him afterwards.

In June 1831, Major Clemons, a British military officer who was deputed to pacify the insurrectionists in the Shimoga District, at one time fell in at a village called Gouja with a picket of twelve men who on seeing him rushed into the jungle, where they joined the main body. Clemons, loath to shed blood, left his escort behind and proceeded unarmed to where the gathering was in order to convince them that his errand was a pacific one. On reaching the main body Clemons observed considerable symptoms of suspicion and distrust, which he succeeded in disarming by requesting a Pathan who stood there pointing his match-lock towards him with a match in one hand, to allow him to light his cigar, offering him one at the same time and the effect of this act of courtesy seemed immediately to alter their feelings from those of distrust to those of confidence in him as a friend. He was invited by

some of the people to seat himself on a mat which was spread for him and was treated with every respect.

Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General who had deprived Krishnaraja Wodeyar III of his ruling powers in 1831, after a visit to the Raja in 1834 became troubled in mind as to the justice of what he had done. He found the Raja in the highest degree intelligent and sensible, and as he himself said, the Raja's disposition was the reverse of tyrannical or cruel and he recommended to the Court of Directors that, to begin with, a part of his territories should be restored to the Maharaja.

During the time of the Indian Mutiny when a small party of Europeans arrived at Mysore, the Raja, according to Cubbon's testimony, made manifest his satisfaction by giving them a feast and by also offering one of his palaces for their accommodation. Besides, the Raja gave up his personal establishment of elephants, etc., to assist the 74th Highlanders in their forced march from the Nilgiris to Bellary for the protection of the Ceded Districts,—a proceeding which produced great moral effect throughout the country. In fact there was nothing in the power of the Raja, wrote Cubbon, which he did not do to manifest his fidelity to the British Government and to discourage the unfriendly people.

Many public men in England having in later years become convinced of the injustice done to the Raja by not restoring his ruling powers, a deputation of Members of Parliament and other gentlemen who had long taken part in Indian affairs, led by Sir Henry Rawlinson, waited on the Secretary of State in July 1866 for the purpose of making a collective remonstrance against the threatened annexation of Mysore. Later a petition signed, among others, by several old Indian Officers, was presented to the House of Commons by John Stuart Mill, the famous philosopher and political thinker, urging the re-establishment of the native Government in Mysore. To the credit of the House of Commons, on a debate being held in that House, the restoration of the country to Native rule was approved by a majority. The Mysore cause at this time also

received the strong support of John Morley, who subsequently became Secretary of State for India.

I am sure you will all agree with me when I say that Mr. Reilly has given proofs of belonging to the class of large-hearted Englishmen whom I have mentioned. The mutual relations between the Mysoreans and the English people have at all times been cordial, even when under desperate circumstances and the welcome we must offer to Mr. Reilly must be animated by the same feeling.

I now request you, Sir, to accept the welcome we offer you in the same spirit as actuated the bygone generation of Englishmen who came to the Mysore country.

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Mr. S. Srikantaya, General Secretary and Treasurer, then presented the following Report for the year 1934–35:

ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1934–35

The Committee of the Mythic Society have great pleasure in placing before you this evening a Report of the Society's activities during the year 1934–35.

Membership.—Membership of the Society continues steady. Members in arrears are requested to pay them early. We hope that in the current year every member of the Society will make an earnest attempt to increase the membership of the Society by introducing new members. As announced in our Report for the last year, the first number of each volume will be sent by V.P.P. to our moffussil members from the next year.

We deeply regret to record the death of the following: Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, C.I.E., Retired Dewan of Mysore, Travancore and Baroda who was one of the foundation members of the Society; and Dr. M. Srinivasa Rao, M.A., M.D., who was a valuable contributor to the pages of the Society's Journal.

Meetings.—Several meetings were held during the year at which interesting lectures were delivered. "The Mythology of Indian Music" was the subject of an interesting lecture delivered by Mr. O. C. Gangoly of Calcutta.

Silver Jubilee.—The Society completed its twenty-five years of life and activity in May 1934 and the Silver Jubilee was celebrated in an appropriate manner in November last. The Jubilee Week was inaugurated by Amin-ul-Mulk Sir Mirza M. Ismail, the Dewan of Mysore and a Vice-President of the Society. Illustrated Lectures on subjects of antiquarian interest, particularly relating to Mysore, were delivered by eminent scholars. On the last day, our President, Rajakarya-prasakta Rao Bahadur Mr. M. Shama Rao, gave an At Home which was largely attended by the elite and the intelligentsia of the place.

Finance.—The total receipts for the year including an opening balance of Rs. 29–10–3 was Rs. 4,144–7–1. The total expenditure was Rs. 4,025–1–9 leaving a closing balance of Rs. 119–5–4. Our Reserve Fund continues to stand at Rs. 11,750. The bills outstanding at the end of the year amount to Rs. 619–10–0. It is a matter of considerable regret that owing to unavoidable causes, no appreciable amount was realised by way of subscription either from the moffussil or the resident members. We expect the members will kindly bear with us and honour our requests to pay on successive occasions.

Our financial troubles started with the cut in our grants and it has become very difficult, if not impossible, to manage the day-to-day affairs of the Society without a restoration of the grants and a larger and more liberal outlook on the part of the members in the concerns of the Society. We pray that the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore will kindly restore our grants and augment them at no distant date.

We are grateful to Mr. T. M. S. Subramaniam, Accountant, the Bank of Mysore, who very kindly continues to audit our accounts in an honorary capacity.

Reading Room.—The total number of visitors to the Free Reading Room attached to the Library during the year was 2,803. As usual, daily and weekly papers are placed on the table while other periodicals are made easily available to visitors.

Library.—It was not at all possible to add many books to the Library by purchase. A number of books were received during the year by presentation and the important periodicals were got bound as usual. We appeal to all those interested in this institution to present the Library with books and periodicals dealing with all branches of antiquarian study. Our thanks are due to the Government of India, the several provincial administrations in India and Burma, the States of Mysore, Hyderabad, Baroda, Kashmir, Travancore, Cochin, Pudukkottai and Gwalior, the Universities of Mysore, Madras, Calcutta and Dacca and the Annamalai University and various other authors and publishers for sending us their publications for accession to the Library and for review in the Journal.

Journal.—The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society continues to maintain the high standard set for it by its promoters. The Silver Jubilee Number, so designed to be worthy of the occasion, has been very much appreciated by all our readers.

Exchanges.—Amongst our exchanges are included most of the learned periodicals of the world. All important journals are carefully bound and preserved in the Library.

Daly Memorial Hall.—The Daly Memorial Hall and premises are maintained in good condition. The Hall continues to be in constant demand for meetings of other institutions in Bangalore.

General.—We offer our sincere congratulations to the following gentlemen who have been the recipients of well-merited honours during the year: Rajasabhabhushana Diwan Bahadur Mr. K. R. Srinivasiengar and Rao Bahadur Mr. B. K. Garudachar.

We beg to express our deep gratitude to His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, His Highness the Yuvaraja, the Government of His Highness the Maharaja, the Government of India and the Hon'ble the British Resident in Mysore for their continued sympathy and support.

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On being proposed by the President and seconded by Mr. Justice K. Shankaranarayana Rao, the Report was duly adopted.

* * *

The following office-bearers for the year 1935–36 were then elected :

President :

Rajakaryaprasakta Rao Bahadur M. Shama Rao, Esq., M.A.

Vice-Presidents :

1. Amin-ul-Mulk Sir Mirza M. Ismail, Kt., C.I.E., O.B.E.
2. Rajadharmapravina Diwan Bahadur K. S. Chandrasekhara Aiyar, Esq., B.A., B.L.
3. Rajamantrapravina Diwan Bahadur P. Raghavendra Rao, Esq., B.A., B.L.
4. Rajasabhabhushana Diwan Bahadur K. R. Srinivasiengar, Esq., M.A.
5. Rajasabhabhushana K. Chandy, Esq., B.A.
6. Rajamantrapravina Diwan Bahadur K. Matthan, Esq., B.A.
7. Praktana Vimarsha Vichakshana Karnataka Prachya Vidya Vaibhava Mahamahopadhyaya Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar, Esq., M.A.
8. Dr. E. P. Metcalfe, D.Sc., F.Inst.P.
9. Mr. H. D. C. Reilly.
10. Arthasastravisharada Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. R. Shama Sastri, B.A., Ph.D.

General Secretary and Treasurer :

S. Srikantaya, Esq., B.A., B.L.

Joint Secretary :

A. V. Ramanathan, Esq., B.A.

Editors :

1. S. Srikantaya, Esq., B.A., B.L.
2. K. Devanathachariar, Esq., M.A.

Branch Secretaries :

For Ethnology—Rajacharitavisarada Rao Sahib C. Hayavadana Rao, Esq., B.A., B.L.

For History—Rev. Father C. Browne, M.A.

For Folklore—B. Puttaiya, Esq., B.A.

Committee :

The above *ex-officio* and

1. N. S. Subba Rao, Esq., M.A., Bar-at-Law.
2. A. R. Wadia, Esq., B.A., Bar-at-Law.
3. Dr. M. H. Krishna, M.A., D.Litt.
4. S. Shamanna, Esq., B.A.
5. Dr. C. B. Rama Rao, M.D.
6. J. R. Isaac, Esq., B.A., M.B.E.
7. Prof. B. M. Srikantia, M.A., B.L.

* * *

The Chairman of the Meeting, Chief Justice H. D. C. Reilly, then delivered the following address:—

CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS

He referred to the recent illness of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore and said that the members of the Mythic Society in common with the rest of His Highness' subjects in Mysore and abroad rejoiced to learn that their Patron had been restored to normal health.

Referring to the address of welcome of the President, Mr. Reilly said that Mysoreans were always kind to Englishmen, and they were exceptionally kind to him also. Although it might not be known to the Society and although he was one of the youngest of its officers, he was one of its oldest members. When the Society was founded about 1909, Mr. Richards invited him to become a member, which he did, and though he had no opportunity to take an active part in its work, he had always watched the progress of the Society with great interest.

The Society was twenty-six years old; but the Secretary's report showed that financially its position gave rise to serious reflections. While they appealed to the Government to restore their grant, the members should realize that they could not expect everything from the Government but must bestir themselves to augment the resources of the Society. They must pay up their arrears, and make efforts to introduce new members, secure donations and life-members and

contribute towards the stability of the Society as the Secretary had appealed to them to do.

He admired the active work done by the Society both for the good of Mysore and of India, and it was most important that it should continue to do that work. The Society had set before itself the study of archæology, ethnology, history and religion. But he had often wondered why the Society was called the Mythic Society. His lexicon showed him that the word 'mythic' denoted a poetic or legendary tale in contrast to a historical tale. He did not for a moment suggest that historical works necessarily ignored legends. Indeed the most serious study of history was often rewarded by the discovery that a well-known legend had real foundation in fact.

The first subject set out in the objects of study for the Society was archæology. Archæology had certain advantages over history for such a Society. If the Society was in a good financial condition, it could make contribution to the cost of archæological work. In other respects also archæology had advantages over history. When reading history they had constantly to remind themselves that they were dealing not with facts but with the historian's representation of facts. Indeed, it was a comparatively modern idea for historians to attempt to write history in a scientific way and report only ascertained facts. A great deal of history had been written to glorify some people or sovereign or justify some policy. Even in the present day it was extremely difficult for an historian to divest himself of personal prejudices or predilections. Indeed it was impossible for any human being to do so completely. But, when they turned to archæology, they found the position was different. The stones and crocks of archæology had no human tongue to enlighten or deceive them. The truth was in them for men to discover. They pleaded no cause and coloured no picture, though it must be confessed that the archæologist sometimes allowed his imagination to run away with him.

When he first came to India in the last century, comparatively little interest appeared to be taken in the archæology

or ancient history of the country. He was surprised, when going about in various parts of Southern India, to find how little was known even by educated people about their most famous temples and buildings. One might ask the trustees when a temple was founded, who endowed it, who improved it and so on. The trustees often had the very vaguest notions on such subjects; sometimes they knew nothing at all. What was worse, they often did not care to preserve the ancient structures entrusted to them. Very often they would allow a charming mantapam to be pulled down, only to be replaced by what was supposed to be a more convenient and modern structure. Many inscriptions of historical importance were destroyed in that and other ways. It was fortunate that the restraining hand of Government interfered and preserved what now remains for the lasting benefit of posterity. He did not suppose anything of that sort happened in Mysore. Archæology had received far more attention in Mysore than in many other parts of India. At the present time a great change was noticeable in regard to archæology, not only in India but all over the world. Archæology played a much greater part than it used to a generation ago. There were wonderful excavations being made in many parts of the world—the Indus Valley, Mesopotamia, Persia, Crete and Central America—and many wonderful things were learnt from those excavations. As a result of the facts learnt from archæological research, the idea that the oldest civilizations had developed in Egypt and China had been disproved. They had learnt that civilization went back in many parts of the world to hundreds and thousands of years more than they had thought. Indeed archæologists sometimes spoke of years in almost astronomical numbers. And when they looked back into the history of the world, as so disclosed, they often found that there was much more in common among people inhabiting different parts of the globe than they had imagined. As Rao Bahadur Narasimhachar had shown when he addressed the Society at its last annual meeting, Hindu civilization and culture had spread over a very much larger area in the world

than had been believed. There were needless lessons to be learnt from archæology. Learning of that sort, like all true learning, made them humble. It made them understand that the present day, of which they thought so much, was not so important as they made it out to be. And they learnt to realise how much all the races of mankind had in common. Such learning showed them that they, with all their self-importance, occupied only a small place in the world's history, that their predecessors had met and tackled many of the problems which they thought were peculiar to modern civilization, and about which they made so much fuss. For instance, if they went back only to Ancient Greece, they found that the frequent wars between the city-states had often been occasioned by what sounded very modern problems, namely the desire for the acquisition and retention of trade routes or the necessity for arranging some sort of 'Ottawa Pact'. If they came a little further along the road of history, in ancient Rome they found that, on more than one occasion, it had been necessary to introduce an agriculturists' relief regulation—a thorny matter even in those days. Such instances should make them realise not only that their own problems were not new but also that they were not insoluble. What was even more important was the fact that a study of archæology made them realise that the history of mankind was one and not little patches of human stories. The races of mankind had much in common. The more that was realised, the wider would be their outlook and their sympathies and the better would they work for the peace and happiness of the world.

But he did not mean to suggest that these studies should lead them to a flabby internationalism. No doubt, if they developed common sympathies, they would wear off rough covers and points of friction between different races. But it would be an evil day if that resulted in obliterating their national characteristics. It was their duty to preserve their national characteristics, not as a cause of self-importance but as the gifts of God entrusted to them for the service of humanity.

If he were an Indian he would be proud indeed of India, of all that was great in her history, of her ancient civilization, her art, her architecture and her law. He could think of few better things which an Indian could do than to clear away the mists from the history of his own land, so that the sons and daughters of India might learn and appreciate fully the history and characteristics of the land to which their devotion was due. That was the sort of work which this Society had done in the past and could go on doing. India is a very large place, including many lands and peoples. That need not deter them. Devotion to India need never be in conflict with devotion and loyalty to one's own part of it. No man need be less an Indian because he was a Mysorean. Devotion to India as a whole would bear better fruit when it was rooted in devotion to one's own land.

If he were a Mysorean, he would be very proud of this beautiful land, of her history, of her development, of her progress and her monuments, and he was indeed proud to serve Mysore. But, in Mysore as elsewhere, pride in the country would grow best when it was watered with true knowledge of the history of the land, and there again was the work which this Society had done and could go on doing. He knew this Society did not confine its activities to Mysore, though its heart was in Mysore.

It was not known what part Mysore would take in the coming developments in India. But one could rejoice in the fact there had been no attempt to flatten out the whole of India into one drab unit. The individuality of every great state and every province would be preserved. And it would be by preserving that individuality that each part would be able to contribute best to the good of the whole.

Mysore would always be Mysore. Mysoreans would never falter in loyalty to their ruler or pride in their land. But they would have their part to play for the whole of India. Mysore had shown the way to India on many an occasion, and she would go on doing so. He was sure that Mysoreans would be best fitted to play their part in the wider field, if

they were not only proud of their own land, but really knew its history, if they understood its past glories and its future possibilities. In all that the Mythic Society would help them. Their present was rooted in the past, and it was from the past and the present that the future had to grow. If Mysore citizens and statesmen were to do their best for Mysore and India, they must know Mysore and Mysore's history through and through and then turn to the wider field. The Mythic Society had reached a rather critical time because Mysoreans were not supporting it as they should. He would suggest to them that was a great mistake. They must get Mysoreans to take a greater interest in the Society in order that it might carry on what was very important work both for Mysore and India. If they could get more supporters and more workers, he had no doubt that the Mythic Society would go on for generations doing work which was of real good both to Mysore and to India.

* * *

The Meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the distinguished guest of the evening and three cheers to His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore.

NOTES

Beliefs about the Power of the Mustard-Seed to Ward off Evil

MR. L. A. WADDELL in his book on Lamaism[1] illustrates the "Dance of Skeletons" current in Tibet by a picture and detailed description of the same. He further remarks :—

"This usually concludes one day's performance. On the following day adoration is paid to the Jina by whom unreformed Lamas seem to intend St. Padma-Sambhava. A *mustard-seed* is blessed and thrown at the enemy with singing, dancing and incantations. And then occurs the ceremony of stabbing the enemy by the phurbu or the mystic dagger."

The power of the *mustard-seed* believed in by the Buddhists of Tibet appears to have its parallels in Hindu and Dravidian beliefs also. It is difficult to say anything about the antiquity of these beliefs or their mutual contact, as a systematic history of such beliefs yet remains to be written on the basis of field-work by interested anthropologists.

Sarat Chandra Roy, the great Indian anthropologist, records[2] the use of *mustard-seeds* current among the Oraons of Chota Nagpur, whose language belongs to the Dravidian family and who are geographically settled among the speakers of the Munda (Austro-Asiatic family) group of languages. The Oraons use the *mustard-seed* as a precaution against evil spirits. Mr. Roy remarks about this use as under :—

"It is during the period of impurity following childbirth that evil spirits are most dreaded by a woman, etc......... A handful of *mustard-seeds* is also tied up at one end of the woman's cloth, so that evil spirits may not approach her in the apprehension that the *mustard-seeds* will be flung at them should they venture to do so. It is believed that an evil spirit

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1 *Buddhism of Tibet* (or *Lamaism.*) Second Edition, 1934; Heffer & Sons, Cambridge; p. 529.

2 *Oraon Religion and Customs*, Ranchi, 1928, pp. 124-25.

must pick up every grain of *mustard-seed*, an almost interminable task before it can proceed to other business."

I am not aware of the use of the *mustard-seed* in the above manner in other parts of India. In Maharashtra, however, the Hindu ladies use *salt* and *mustard-seeds* for purposes of warding off evil on numerous occasions. When a young lady with a baby enters her husband's house for the first time from her father's house, salt and *mustard-seeds* are whirled round the faces of the baby and the mother and then thrown away. This is done with the idea of protecting the mother and especially the baby from the effects of evil eyes. There are many other occasions on which this formula is repeated.

I have illustrated the use of the *mustard-seeds* by three different customs: (1) the Tibetan, (2) the Dravidian, and (3) the Hindu—all backed up by certain beliefs in the potency of the *mustard-seed* to ward off evil. Such beliefs are the very life-blood of different cultures in spite of modern attempts to rationalize them to suit the modern outlook on life and its mysteries.

P. K. GODE.

Three More Sanskrit Poetesses

BY V. RAGHAVAN, M.A., PH.D.

THIS note is a supplement to my article on Sanskrit and Prākṛt Poetesses,[1] published in the last number of this Journal and notices three more Sanskrit Poetesses,—*Lakṣmī*, *Sarasvatī* and *Rajakasarasvatī*.

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[1] *Q.J.M.S.*, Silver Jubilee Number, pp. 49-74. In the footnote on p. 50 of that article, a serious error has been made in the statement that there was a Kāśakṛtsnī who wrote a Mimamsa treatise. I should have said: There were Brahmin ladies who studied the Mimamsa treatise of Kāśakṛtsnī.

On pp. 68–69 of that article, I have erroneously described Rāmabhadrāmbā as the queen of King Raghunatha. She was only his mistress. Her poem has since been published by Dr. T. R. Chintamani for the Madras University. (*Bulletin of the Skt. Dept.*, No. 2.)

Lakṣmī.—This poetess is known to us from the *Śārṅgadhara Paddhati* itself. A single verse of hers, an Anyāpadeśa on the bee, is given by Śārṅgadhara under No. 817 :

भ्रमन्वनान्ते नवमञ्जरीषु न षट्पदो गन्धफलीमजिघ्रत् ।
सा किं न रम्या स च किं न रन्ता बलीयसी केवलमीश्वरेच्छा ॥

Aufrecht mentions in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* two poetesses named Sarasvatī and Rajakasarasvatī as known from the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* of Śrīdharadāsa, an anthology compiled in Śaka 1127 (A.D. 1205), now made completely available to us by an edition of it in the Punjab Oriental Series (No. XV).[2] The *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* has preserved two verses of these two poetesses.

Rajakasarasvatī.—The Sragdharā verse given by Śrīdharadāsa over the name of Rajakasarasvatī is a description of the intense love of the male Cakravāka bird for the female bird and of how, in its fear of separation from the latter, the former mistakes even the day for the night.

भङ्क्त्वा भीतो न भुङ्क्ते कुटिलबिसलताकोटिमिन्दोर्वितर्कात्
ताराकारास्तृषर्तो न पिबति पयसां विप्रुषः पत्रसंस्थाः ।
छायामम्भोरुहाणामलिकुलशबलां वेत्ति सन्ध्यामसन्ध्यां
कान्ताविच्छेदभीरुर्दिनमपि रजनीं मन्यते चक्रवाकः ॥

Sarasvatī.—The one verse of this poetess found on p. 249 (IV. 32. 3) is an Anyāpadeśa in *Vasantatilaka* on the bee and the Ketaka flower. The Ketaka symbolises persons full of faults and have but a single merit and the bee symbolises the good man who is anxious to overlook all the defects and satisfy himself with the single virtue.

पत्राणि कण्टकसहस्रदुरासदानि
वार्तापि नास्ति मधुनो रजसान्धकारम् ।
आमोदमात्ररसिकेन मधुव्रतेन
नालोकितानि तव केतक दूषणानि ॥

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[2] A small part of it was already available in the *Bib. Ind.* Series.

Some Interesting Gems of Christian Literature of Portuguese Times

DURING the Holy Year Pilgrimage to Palestine, Rome and Laurdes in September–October 1933, *Rev. Father Lear Saldanha*, Parish Priest of Bajpe, S. Kanara, happened to steal a visit to London and came across some very interesting and important gems of Christian literature in Kanarese, Marathi and Konkani languages in the Library of the Marsden Collection (1838) found in the School of Oriental Studies—London Institution.

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

I

Dravidian Kanarese Manuscripts

No. 34. ಸತ್ಯಉಪದೇಶ—(Satya Upadesha)—folio—A work in Kanarese language and *character* on religious subjects by a Catholic Missionary—Calendar on cover inside.

SERMONS and INSTRUCTIONS

Contents

1. ಪ್ರಸಂಗಗಳು (Prasangagalu)—6 Parts on Catechism.
2. ದಿವ್ಯ ಮುತ್ತುಗಳು (Divya Muttugalu)—Sacred Pearls (104) on Catholic practice—morals—virtues.
3. ಜೇಸನಾಥರ ತಿರುಪಾಡುಗಳ ಚರಿತ್ರೆ (Jesanathara Tirupadugala Charitre)—Passion of our Lord.
4. *Devotion to the Sacred Passion* from Thursday evening till Friday afternoon.
5. ದೇವಮಾತೆಯು ಚರಿತ್ರೆ (Devamatheya Charitre)—Life of the Mother of God.
6. ಅರ್ಚ್ ಶಿಷ್ಟರ ಜಾಣಗಾಪತ ಪತ ಜ್ಞಾನಾಂಗಿ —Lives of Saints
   - (*a*) ಅರ್ಚ್ ಸ್ಟಾನಿಸಿಲಾವುಸರ ಚರಿತ್ರೆ —St. Stanislaus.
   - (*b*) ,, ಸಂತಪ್ಪರ ,, —St. Clement.
   - (*c*) ,, ಜುಲ್ಯಾನಮ್ಮರ ,, —St. Juliano.
   - (*d*) ,, ಲೆತಿಸ್ಸಿಯುಮ್ಮರ ,, —St. Loetitia.
   - (*e*) ,, ಸೆಸಿಲ್ಯಾಮ್ಮರ ,, —St. Cecilia.
   - (*f*) ,, ಆಗ್ನೆಸಮ್ಮರ ,, —St. Agnes.
   - (*g*) ,, ದೆವದಾರಅಮ್ಮರ ,, —St. Theodora.

II

Kanarese Manuscripts in Kanarese Language

No. 37. Dialogue between a Guru or Religious Teacher and his Disciple—A Book in Kanarese language and character containing Instructions for the knowledge of the Universal Lord; Prayers (ಮಂತ್ರ) adopted on several occasions; Invocations (ಪ್ರಥಮ ಪ್ರಾರ್ಥನೆ); a kind of Litany and a Catechism or Dialogue in question and answer between a Tutor and his Pupil on points of Faith and Doctrine (composed by Jesuits of the Kanarese Mission from Goa). Explanation of an ordinary Catechism appears to be the translation in Kanarese characters of *No. 30* in Mahratta language and Nagri character, but in Kanarese character instead of Roman or Devanagari—probably for the use of catechists of Kanarese Mission Mahratta manuscript is in the very same handwriting as the manuscripts of Adi Puran.

Other Manuscripts in Marathi and Konkani in the Marsden Collection

No. 28. Adi Puran—Old Testament—Nagri character.

29. Deva Puran—New Testament—Nagri character. By different expert Indian copyists. Both in Marathi.

30. Instructions for the knowledge of the Universal Lord—dialogue between Guru and Disciple—explaining the Catechism—Nagri character—Marathi language.

31. Jivitva Rutachin Amrut Fala (*sic* in Roman character) translation of "Fruitos de Arvore da Vida" by Father Antonio Saldanha, S.J., in the Hindustani language and Roman character.

34. Satya Upa Desha (as stated above) probably a translation of Jardim Dos, Pastores of Fr. Miguel Almeida, S.J., also found in Marsden Collection.

(37. Translation of the above No. 30 in Kanarese character and language *cf.* overleaf.)

38. Vocabulario da lingsa Canarim de Norte concertade e acrecentade in 1664—Portuguese-Marathi Vocabulary probably by Fr. Ant. Saldanha, S.J.
39. Vocabulario in Kanarim vertido est Portuguesa, probably by Fr. Leo Cennamon, S.J.
40. Grammatica da Bramani que corre na Illa de Goa e sua Comarea–Konkani Grammer in Portuguese.
41. Arte de lingoa Canarim–Konkani (old) Grammer in Roman characters small, 4.
42. Arte da lingoa Canarim—Doctrina Christani im lingoa Bramana Canarim 4—old Konkani Grammer, probably by Fr. Thos. Stephens, S.J. (in Roman characters).

The Kanarese pieces of literature cannot be traced to Kanara, and must be sought for location in some other part of Karnataka. If I guess rightly, this unique Kanarese religious literature was the production of Jesuit Fathers who worked as missionaries in the Karnataka village of Mudgal and other villages close by in the 17th and 18th centuries, which Christian settlement is referred to in Oal, Meadow Zu Glarb novel *The Noble Queen* and in his *Story of My Life*. There were two other congregations mentioned by him in the Doale. I leave it to local Kanarese missionaries to make the required research.

The Marathi and Konkani productions referred to have been the subject of discussion by learned authors and copies of them are yet available. I may just now refer to the learned introduction to the late Saldanha-edition of the *Christian Purana* and to the following articles on the *Bulletin* of the School of Oriental Studies :

Sir E. Denison Ross' article on the Manuscripts collection by William Marsden—in Vol. II, Part III.

Mr. Justice Abbots' article on "The Discovery of the original Devanagari text of the Christian Puran of Thomas Stevens"—in Vol. II, Part IV, 1923.

JEROME A. SALDANHA.

CORRESPONDENCE

"The Genealogy and Chronology of the Vishṇukuṇḍins"

In the last issue of this Journal (April, 1935, p. 299 ff.) Mr. Dines Chandra Sircar has drawn my attention to the fact that I have not noticed his contributions on the subject, and therefore that I have been "not at all up-to-date". For one thing, my article on the "Vishṇukuṇḍins" had been several months with the Editors of the Journal, previous to its actual publication; and I could not, even if I would, have made use of his study of the subject in the *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta. Mr. Sircar says, he has already considered what, in my view, is the genealogy and given it up. One would wish to know if Mr. Sircar has based his *conclusions* on any new and original materials, in addition to what may have been used by me and by others of my way of thinking. I hope to be able to go through the publications referred to. Meantime, just by way of an answer to the few points raised in his Correspondence, I desire to state:

The one point on which Mr. Sircar relies for his genealogy of the Dynasty is that "in all the five inscriptions of the family one king, named Mādhava Varman, has been credited with the celebration of eleven Aśvamedhas and thousand Agnishṭomas (kratus)." He has "therefore reconstructed the genealogy" (300). Can the identity of the "Mādhava Varmans" be taken as established on this score of what may be only a poet's description? There are other instances of hyperbole in the epigraphs where another king "celebrates thousands of sacrifices, a Sarvamedha, a hundred thousand Bahusuvarnas, Pauṇḍarika, Purushamedha, Vājapeya, Yūddhya, Rājasūya, Prādhirājya, Prājāpatya and others; and still another is described as having "encountered in a hundred thousand

battles numerous elephants with four tusks". Besides, there are a few other points which seem not to lend support to Mr. Sircar's supposition, that may be gathered, for instance, from my " A Chronicle of the Kings " section, among others.

As I have already stated, the dates of the Vishṇukuṇḍins can only be tentative in the light of the chronological data furnished by their grants. The duration of the Dynasty is placed by me from *c.* 400–500 A.D., while Mr. Sircar would have it from 500–670. According to me, the first three kings ruled from 400–500. Mr. Sircar says, this is " impossible in view of the fact that at least up to the middle of the fifth century, not the Vishṇukuṇḍins, but the Sālaṅkāyanas were masters of the Āndhra country. But were the Sālaṅkāyanas the masters of the entire Āndhra country ? Students of Dekhan history know that on the decline of the Imperial Sātavāhana power, about 250 A.D., its place was taken by small dynasties that were styled in the Purāṇas as " Āndhra-bhrityas " ; and the Brihatpalāyanas followed immediately by Sālaṅkāyanas, may have been one among them. It is rather well known now, even without a fresh citation of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription, etc., that the Sālaṅkāyanas should have been in possession of the " Vengi " country up to the fifth century. But the intimate association of the Vishṇukuṇḍins with Śrī-Parvata or Nāgārjuni-koṇḍa would point to their having succeeded to the territory ruled over by the Ikshvākus, another of these early Dekhan Dynasties, an inscription of one of whose kings (?) is met with in the locality ; and they should have come in possession of the territory of the Sālaṅkāyanas after the fifth century, in the course of their *eastern campaigns.*

Even in the light of the above, Mr. Sircar's conclusions do not seem to me acceptable, however much he may be up-to-date in respect of the genealogy and chronology of this little-known Dekhan Dynasty. For ready reference of scholars interested in the subject I would subjoin the genealogy of the Dynasty as given by me and by Mr. Sircar.

Mine		*Mr. Sircar's*	
Mâdhava Varman *c.*	400–425	Vikramahendra *c.*	500–520
Deva Varman	425–450	Govinda	520–535
Mâdhava Varman	450–500	Mâdhava	535–585
Vikramendra	500–520	Mâdhava	585–615
Indra	520–550	Vikramendra	615–625
Vikramendra	550–590	Indra	625–655
Govinda	590–610	Vikramendra	655–670
Mâdhava and son Manachyanna	610–650		

It may be noticed that what is given by Mr. Sircar on p. 300, does not agree with that on the next page, which, according to him, is the genealogy accepted in his works.

S. V. VISWANATHA.

IN the *Q.J.M.S.*, Volume 25, page 261, Mr. S. V. Viswanatha, M.A., has written an article with the heading "Karuvūr or Vañjimānagaram". It is an interesting one which reopens the long-pending controversy about the identity of the capital of Chera Kingdom. The learned author supports the view expressed by Pandit M. Raghava Iyengar in his book *Cheran Śeṅguṭṭuvan* and in his articles which he contributed to the journal *Senthamil*. He now wishes to support it by an additional evidence from the epigraphical records discovered at Nerūr mentioned in No. 335/28 of the Madras Epigraphical Collections. The article, though very interesting, contains a number of inaccuracies which I think it is my duty to point out in the public interests.

1. The learned author, in dealing with the area of a kingdom in Tamil country, gives Kādam as a unit of square measure and says that Chera Kingdom was believed to be 80 Kādams in extent and in the foot-note says that the entire area of Tamil Agam was 180 Kādams. Kādam in Tamil language is a linear measure and is 10 miles in length. In Malabar a Kādam is 4 miles in length. It is not a square measure. Perhaps he had in his mind the stanza quoted below which gives only the linear measure.

2. The author wants to express that modern Karūr, a town in Trichinopoly district, was the ancient capital of Chera Nāḍu.

For that purpose he gives the boundaries of Chera Nāḍu as follows: "Bounded on the north by the Palni Hill, on the east by Sengotta (Shengotta in the Travancore State), on the west by Kallikottai (Calicut in the Malabar District) and on the south by the Sea." After giving this boundary, he further says: "It included therefore Malabar, Cochin and Travancore on the west coast and extended into the interior to comprise the adjoining districts of Coimbatore and Salem and a portion of Trichinopoly." Evidently the boundaries given by the author have been taken by him from an old Tamil stanza attributed either to Kambar or Avvaiyar. It runs as follows:—

வடக்குத் தலம் பழனி வான்கீழ் செங்கோடு
குடக்குத் திசை கோழிக் கூடாம் கடற்கரையின்
ஓரமது தெற்காகும் ஒரெண் பதின்காதம்
சேரநாட் டெல்லை யெனச் செப்பு.

If we take a map of South India and locate the boundaries Palni, Shengotta, Calicut and the Sea, it will be clear that the area includes only Travancore, Cochin and South Malabar, while the districts of Coimbatore, Salem and Trichy are outside its pale. Hence on no ground can Karūr of Trichy be located inside the Chera Kingdom.

3. In all ancient Tamil Classics Kongu Nāḍu and its people Kongar have been described as separate units apart from Chera Nāḍu and her rulers, Cherars. The districts of Coimbatore, Salem and a portion of Trichinopoly really formed Kongu Nāḍu and were never included into the Chera Kingdom during the classical age, except at a far later period when the Keralas invaded portions of Kongu during 8th and 9th centuries A.D. The arguments in support of the view that the modern Karūr was the capital of Chera Kingdom have been based mainly on some modern poetry such as *Karūr Purāṇam* and others. Though a few stanzas from ancient poems like Agam and Puram have also been quoted, yet there is no conclusive proof in them that the modern Karūr was the ancient

Chera capital. There is no presumption or proof that the Ān Porunai on the banks of which Karūr is said to have been situated in Agam 93 is the same as the Amarāvathi, a tributary of the Kāveri. How the word Ān Porunai became Amarāvathi is not known. Here also there is an inaccuracy. The word Amarāvathi ought to have been Āmbrāvathi as spelt in the Sthala Puranams and as spoken in local usage.

4. In describing the invasion of North India undertaken by Cheran Śeṅguṭṭuvan as mentioned in *Śilappadikāram*, the learned author says that the Chera encamped on the banks of the river Periyār and adds that "The river Periyār rising from the Anaimalais in the Coimbatore district courses through a portion of Coimbatore and Malabar and the Cochin State and empties itself into the sea at Tiruvañjikkaḷam near Cranganore." A little knowledge of the geography of the locality and a glance at the map of South India will show that the river Periyār or the Alwaye (as it is called in its lower courses) does not rise from the Anaimalais in the Coimbatore district, but rises near Kambam valley at the border of Madura district, nearly 60 miles south of Coimbatore district boundary. One ought not to forget the existence and the locality of the famous Periyār Dam, which supplies ever-lasting water to the river Vaigai which flows by Madura. The Periyār never courses through Coimbatore and Malabar. It flows mostly through Travancore State and branches into two streams at the town of Alwaye, one going south and the other north to join the backwaters, the former near Cochin and the latter near Tiruvañjikkaḷam.

5. Again the learned author says: "On these grounds Nachchinārkkiniyar, the commentator of the epic (*Śilappadikāram*) annotating the relevant lines identified Vañji with Tiruvañjikkaḷam." Here also there is an inaccuracy. Nachchinārkkiniyar was not the commentator of *Śilappadikāram*. It was Adiyarkku Nallar who wrote the commentary of the famous epic. None of them says anywhere that Vañji was Tiruvañjikkaḷam. The latter name is not found in the ancient classics. Only in the commentary of *Puraṇānūru* its

commentator whose name is not known, has meant by Vañji : Karuvūr (Puram 39). Hence our learned author seems to be confused over the commentators.

6. In attempting to support the theory that modern Karūr was Vañji, the author quotes an inscription No. 335/28 which mentions Karuvūr *alias* Vañjimānagaram as situated in Vengala Nāḍu, a sub-division of Vīra Chola Vala Nāḍu. Evidently, this inscription is of very late origin belonging to the latter Chola period. Hence it is of little value. Again, the mention of a mere word Ātan in the Brahmi inscription near Pugalūr can be of little evidenciary value to the theory about Karūr, started on mere suggestions to identify the name with the Cherans who had similar suffixes to their names. But whatever these evidenciary values may be, the learned author could have avoided the glaring inaccuracies in his otherwise interesting article.

Coimbatore. C. M. Ramachandra Chettiar.

EDITORIAL

Indian Culture, which has just started on its second year of existence, amply justifies the cause for which it has been sponsored by such eminent scholars like Messrs. D. R. Bhandarkar, B. M. Barua and B. C. Law. The July 1935 issue contains amongst others a very interesting article by Mr. Panchanan Mitra on the Prehistoric Trade Routes and Commerce. The writer who relies for his study on the distribution of objects not made out of local materials traces the source of origin of the material to find out the route of its distribution through survey of the sites excavated in the intermediate zones. He also conjectures that trade routes and migration routes would often coincide.

***

In an interesting article on the Chola Invasion of Bengal in the *J.R.A.S.* for October 1935, Mr. A. C. Banerji locates ancient Radha in the modern districts of Murshidabad, Birbhum, Nadia, Burdwan, Hughly and Howrah. Prof. S. K. Aiyangar, in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. II, on the other hand, locates Northern Radha in the Burdwan District and says that Dakshina Radha must lie to its south. Mr. Banerji further differs from the views of the late Mr. R. D. Banerji and Prof. S. K. Aiyangar that the victorious march of the Chola army ended on the banks of the Ganges and suggests that they must have crossed the river to reach Eastern Bengal.

***

In the same *Journal* for July 1935, Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri discussing the date of Bhuti Vikramakesari reiterates his original view as well as that of Venkayya that Bhuti must be placed in the tenth century A.D. as against Father Heras' contention of a date three centuries earlier (*J.R.A.S.*, January 1934, p. 33 ff.). Father Heras quotes Krishna Sastri in support of his theory ; but a reference to the South Indian Inscriptions (Vol. III, p. 249) would show that Krishna Sastri meant about twenty to thirty years when he said that the Kodumbatur

Inscription was much earlier and not three centuries as Father Heras would make it.

***

The *Aryan Path* for September 1935 contains two articles, one by Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji and the other by Mr. S. V. Viswanatha on Ancient India. The first gives a bird's-eye view of the accomplishment of the early Hindus while the second shows how they grappled with the problems of the relation between capital and labour.

***

Mr. Drupad S. Desai attempts with considerable success (*Prabuddha Bharata*, September 1935) to answer some of the stock objections against Śankaracharya's Advaitism : *viz.*, (1) that Sankara is not a philosopher at all but merely a theologian; (2) experience is not explained at all in his systems—nay, even more, that his system leaves no scope for experience at all ; (3) that the doctrine of Maya acts as a set-back to the scientific activity of man ; and (4) that Absolutism of Śankara's type negates all moral categories.

***

Man in India for April—September 1935 contains two very interesting articles based on original research. The first of these relates to the system of fraternal polyandry in Malabar and the second is a study of the manners and customs of the Bhils of Khandesh.

***

Dr. Wilh. Geiger contributes a learned article to the *Journal of the Greater India Society* pertaining to the contributions from the Mahavamsa to our Knowledge of the Mediæval Culture of Ceylon. Although the priestly compilers of the work showed a bias to things ecclesiastical, the Mahavamsa is still our best and most reliable source for the Knowledge of Sinhalese History and Civilization. In this first article the learned author deals mainly about the kings and their families and the composition and customs of the royal court.

***

Mother Worship is the theme of an article in the *Vedanta Kesari* for October 1935. The article deals with the philosophical idea behind the conception of Divine Motherhood and its spiritual and social significance. An attempt is also made to remove the misunderstandings that have gathered round Mother Worship. A few paragraphs deal with Svami Ramakrishna and Śakti Worship.

***

It is permissible to infer that there must have existed a close and constant contact and a regular communication by sea between the Coromandel and the countries overseas, and that during several centuries (*c.* 300–800 A.D.) the Indo-Aryan influence kept spreading far and wide in those lands, while, at the same time, strengthening the cultural relations, writes Mr. B. Ch. Chhabra in an article entitled "Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture during the Pallava Rule" appearing in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for May 1935, a period which roughly coincides with the rule of the Pallava Dynasty in South India. He concludes that the culture of Further India and Indonesia during this period bears an unmistakable stamp of Pallava influence. The article is exhaustive and is well worth perusal by students of Pallava history and culture.

***

Prof. Sri Rama Sharma writes on Prince Shah Jahan in Bengal as described in *Baharistan-i-Ghaibi*—in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XI, No. 1. Prof. Sudhindra Nath Bhattacharya has already contributed an article to the pages of the same *Journal* for the previous quarter on the same subject. The value of the present article lies in its abridged rendering of the original which will be of great value to future writers on the subject. It will be recalled that Prof. Sharma has since published translations of other portions of the work in the *J.I.H.*, Vols. XII and XIII.

***

Prof. Otto Spies has done a distinct service by translating into English (*Muslim University Journal*, June 1935) the

chapters pertaining to India contained in an Arab account of India in the 14th century, *viz.*, Al-Qalqashandi's Subh Ul-A'sha. In the introductory chapters, the author deals with Arabic Literature and India, Al-Qalqashandi and his work and the possible sources of the same. The translation itself contains chapters on the climate, the flora and fauna, coins, weights and measures, routes, the kings and their armies and modes of government and various other matters pertaining to the society of those days.

* * *

In the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* for September 1933 Prof. Poure-Davoud wrote an article in which he concluded that most of the formal rites regarding the faith of Christ were derived from Mithraism. In a recent issue of the same *Journal*, Vol. XXI, Part I, Rev. K. Giebens writes an article regarding the theories of Prof. Davoud.

* * *

We deeply regret to record the death of Prof. Sylvain Levi, the French Indologist. His work for the cause of oriental studies are too well known and his demise leaves a distinct gap which it may be long to fill. We extend our deep sympathies and condolences to the bereaved members of his family.

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